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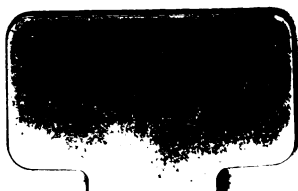
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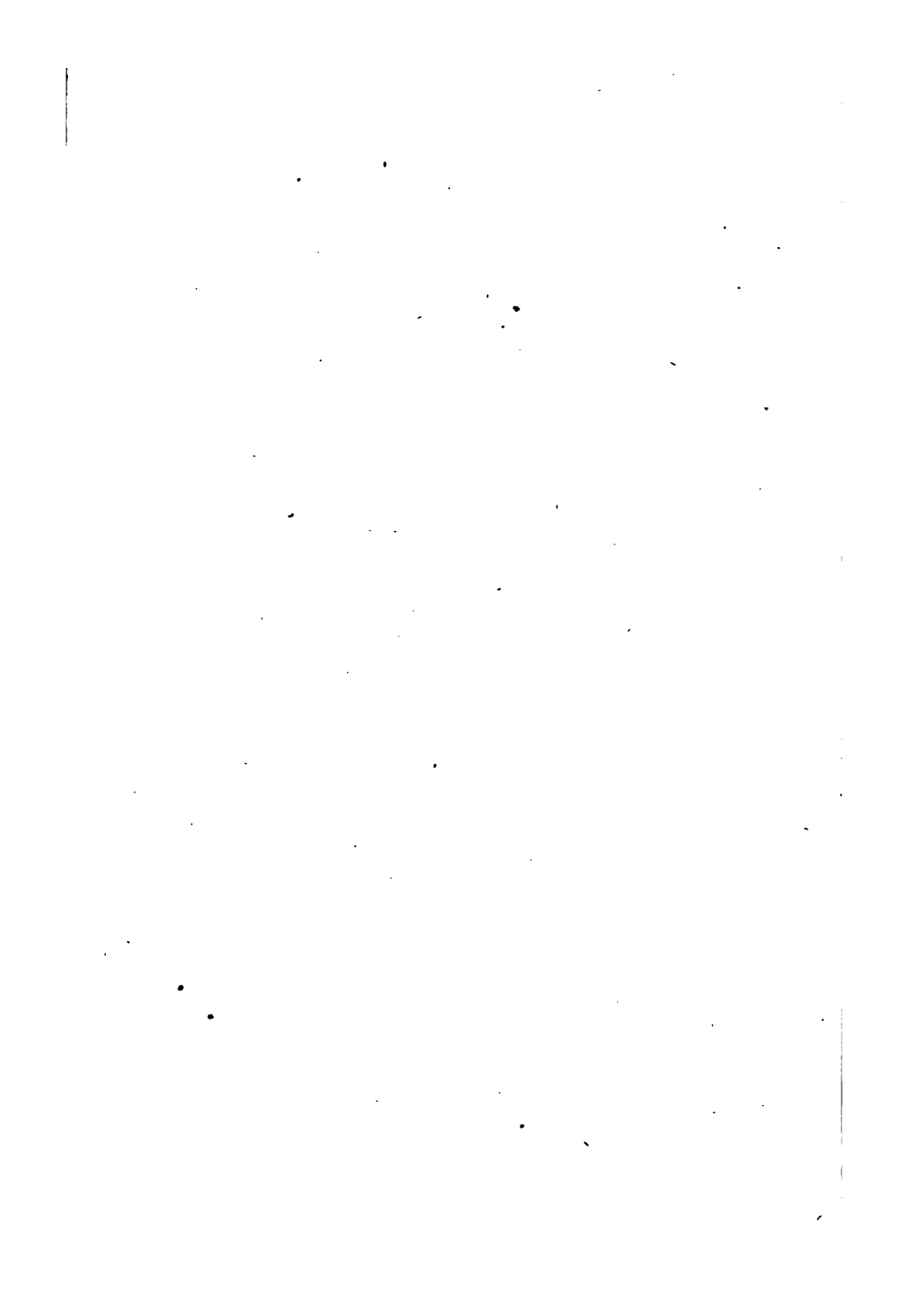
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BISHOP PEARSON'S
LECTURES ON THE
ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
AND
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EDITED IN ENGLISH, WITH A FEW NOTES,

BY

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CAMBRIDGE: J. DEIGHTON.
LONDON: JOHN W. PARKER, AND SON.

M.DCCC.LI.

101. d. 442.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the

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8. The eighth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE works of Bishop Pearson are all so justly valued by Theologians, and have been so carefully edited, that good reason ought to be assigned for publishing a small fragment of them, and that in a form which has not received the Author's sanction.

I have, however, been influenced by more than one motive while endeavouring faithfully to make the substance of these tracts more generally known.

In the first place, they are of a nature to engage the attention and to qualify the views of exactly those theological students, who would probably, in these days, feel it irksome to read them as they have hitherto been published; their frequent use indeed among the Clergy seems to have been laid aside, chiefly because

they are written in the Latin language, and are combined with other less practical works by the same Author.

The Lectures on the Acts have appeared only in Pearson's 'Posthumous Works' edited by Dodwell, and in Mr Churton's edition of his 'Minor Works;' and in consequence, although these Lectures are read by divines and known by name through the references of Commentators on the Acts, the substance of them, and the author's incidental remarks, in which their value chiefly consists, are but little brought under the notice of the Clergy at large.

The Annals of S. Paul are to be found in Randolph's 'Enchiridion Theologicum,' and were edited at Cambridge, in English, in 1825, (of which edition I have not yet been able to procure a copy), and hence they have become better known and more widely appreciated.

But the two tracts, containing, as they do, a genuine sketch of the Church of the Apostles and of the first Christian Missions, an example for all Churches in all times, ought never to have been separated. For though the Annals have been generally esteemed on account of

their chronology, their value as a Missionary Record has been overlooked ; while the Lectures, the fragment of a much more elaborate work, have been lying almost forgotten in an age that can well bear their instruction, and in that Church which they are so exceedingly well calculated to strengthen.

Secondly, we do well to recognize in Pearson the safest guide that we can propose for the study of the Christian Fathers. He brings out his Patristic learning with so much ease, he uses it with so much manliness and good sense, and he discriminates between counterfeit and genuine authors, and between the strong and weak arguments of the latter, with such correct precision, that we are equally astonished, delighted, and convinced by his almost demonstrative remarks. I venture to hope that the perusal of his Lectures on the Acts will be of service in communicating to young students in Divinity the same disposition with regard to these writers, which they observe in Pearson, both inclining and enabling them to advance safely into their works, and so into a rich store-house of Christian thought and feeling.

Lastly, I have preferred to edit these tracts

in English, from the hope that they would thus be more likely to reach English Dissenters and Roman Catholics, and to become available to all English Missionaries who are preaching in sincerity the Word of God, and spreading the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ: for they cannot but tend to reconcile the former to our discipline; and to suggest to the latter that they are following the model of the Apostolic and Primitive Church, while adhering to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

All readers of Pearson's Works will at least find that he, in an unsettled and troublous age, held stedfastly to the Church of England, on the like grounds of duty that he worshipped God, and believed in our Lord Jesus Christ; viz. because he was convinced by a calm reason that her doctrines were true, and her discipline, as near as might be, irreproachable.

I may state that I have verified and extended the references, and added a few notes which, I trust, are not irrelevant.

CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 9, 1851.

LECTURE I.¹

ACTS II.

I. AFTER frequently turning over in my mind what subject I could best bring before you in my lectures, I came at length to the conclusion that it was well worth while to set forth from its very beginning the state of the Christian Church : I have ever considered a thorough understanding on this point to be exceedingly necessary for putting an end to controversies in Theology. LECT. I.

Now 'the Church' I understand in the same sense in which Christ spoke of it, when he said

¹ In Dodwell's edition of Bishop Pearson's 'Posthumous Works,' the Annals of S. Paul are placed before the Lectures on the Acts; Mr Churton however has inverted this arrangement; and in the absence of anything but conjecture to account for the course of either Editor, I have preferred that of the latter for the obvious reason that the Annals take up the history just at the point where the Lectures leave it.

But for Dodwell's arrangement, which is probably due to some knowledge of the Author's plan of writing, we might confidently have supposed that Bishop Pearson, who resigned his Professorship at Cambridge in the year that the Lectures were delivered, was unwilling to leave the intention of this Course of Lectures so incomplete, and compiled the Annals during the leisure of his episcopate that he might, as it were, fill up the broken end of his small but elaborate fragment of Ecclesiastical History.

2 *The Acts, a Source of Church History.*

LECT. I. to his Apostle, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I*
Matt. xvi. 18. *will build my Church*, where he refers to a thing
as yet in the future; just as S. Luke refers to
Acts ii. 47. one in the past, *And the Lord added to the Church*
daily such as should be saved. Therefore, between
the time in which Christ spoke thus to Peter and
that in which persons were added to the Church,
the Church itself of which we speak was founded.

Jerome.
Ep. 103.

In this sense S. Jerome writes of it, 'The
Acts of the Apostles seem to sound like simple
history, and to make up an account of the
infancy of the Church in its earliest stage,' and

Tert. de Pres.
Her. c. 22.

Tertullian, 'The Acts of the Apostles prove the
descent of the Holy Ghost, and those who¹ do
not receive this Scripture cannot be of the Holy
Spirit: for they can neither be sure that the
Spirit has yet been sent to the disciples; nor can
they defend the Church, not having it in their
power to prove when, and in what cradle that
body was nurtured.'

II. Of the origin of this Church, which was
gathered together according to the prediction
and promise of Christ, the date must assuredly
be fixed on the day of Pentecost that followed
immediately after the Crucifixion, Resurrection,
and Ascension of Christ: I begin then the more
willingly from that point, inasmuch as some of
our learned men, who with great industry have

¹ Compare Augustine adv. Fel. Manich. c. 2, 3, 4.

approached Ecclesiastical History, have stopped LECT. I.
on the very threshold, and have occupied themselves solely with setting forth the life of Christ, partly because of the accumulation, and partly because of the intricacy of the subject-matter.

III. Still, I do not think it can be clearly gathered from Holy Scripture in what year that day of Pentecost fell, neither has there been left any other trace which can with certainty mark it. We know that the birth of Christ took place under the reign of Herod; it is not known how old Herod then was; and we know moreover that He was born at a time when a census in Luke ii. 2. Judæa was being taken by Cyrenius¹; but there are no annals to shew what was the year. Therefore from the true birth-day of our Saviour no certain and indubitable epoch can be derived.

It is certain that John began the office of Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; but how long he had exercised it before Christ was baptized by him, how soon after His baptism Christ preached the Gospel, how many passovers were celebrated between His baptism and His death, I cannot clearly discover. The Rabbinic²

¹ More probably S. Luke means to say that the taxing which followed on this census was made under Cyrenius. See Wetstein on the passage.

² Referring to the *Sepher Cabbala* of Abraham ben Dior, Part 3, (*History of the Affairs of the kings of Israel under the second temple*), a work of the 12th century, that was

4 *Confusion in the Chronology of our Saviour's Life.*

LECT. I.

JOS. ANT.
XVIII. 5. 2.
& 3. 3.

Jews have wretchedly confused this matter, and, as I conceive, on purpose. Josephus, although he mentions John and Christ, is no guide to the Chronology of their lives; and the earliest Fathers¹

printed at Mantua in 1509, with the Seder Olam Rabba, an historical tract of great authority with the Jews, I find that the reign of Tiberius is thus described: 'And Tiberius Cæsar reigned instead of him (Augustus); and Antipas too did evil and lived abominably above all that were before him, and he took away the wife of Philip his brother from him when she had already borne a child: and R. John, a high priest, reproved him for this abomination, but Antipas smote him and caused him to be put to death; and Tiberius, king of Rome, summoned Antipas, who went to him, and he put him in fetters and removed him to Sepharad (Spain), where he died, (compare Joseph. Jew. War, II. 9, 6); Archelaus, who had been in captivity, died in the time of Tiberius; and Tiberius made Agrippa, son of his brother Aristobulus, whom Herod had put to death, king instead of him (Antipas), and Antipas reigned eleven years over Israel; and in the days of king Agrippa Tiberius Cæsar died, and Caius reigned in his stead.' It will be observed that all allusion to Christ is carefully avoided.

In the first Part (p. 4) of the same work will be found the confusion about our Saviour, which Pearson seems to have more especially in view; it is asserted that Jesus was a disciple of Jehoshuah ben Perechiah, and fled with him to Egypt in the days of Alexander Jannæus. (See Notes in Pearson on the Creed, Fol. Ed. p. 197; and Prideaux' Connexion, Ann. 202).

Also it has been suggested to me that Pearson might have intended to censure the Rabbins, who, with the view apparently of disturbing the received opinion that our Lord died, an antitype to the Paschal Lamb, on a Friday, alleged a canon (לעולם לא בדרו פסח) that forbade the lamb's being slain on the second, fourth, and sixth, days of the week. (This question is fully discussed in Deyling's Observ. Sac. III. § 13.)

¹ See Benson on the Chronology of our Saviour's Life.

will be found to have handed nothing down concerning the years of Christ's ministry; with them the opinion that he preached but one year, which is manifestly incorrect, too soon sprung up and for a long while prevailed.

IV. It is plain that Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and further, upon the testimony of Cornelius Tacitus, while Tiberius was emperor of Rome; for he writes of those who were commonly called Christians, 'The author of that name was Christ, who, when Tiberius was emperor, was executed by the procurator Pontius Pilate:' but Josephus briefly describes the affairs of Judæa under the administration of Pilate, and makes no distinction with regard to time. Tac. Ann. x. 44.

V. The era of Christ (whether originating with Dionysius or our countryman Bede) commonly prevails, according to which they reckon the year now present as 1672. The first year of this era was the year 4714 of the Julian period¹, 4 of Roman Indiction, 2 of the cycle of the Moon, 10 of the cycle of the Sun: but it may be held for certain that it is not the true era as regards the Nativity of Christ, since it would

¹ The epoch of the Julian period is so taken that each of the other cycles is complete in it. Hence, if we divide the year in the Julian period by 15, 19, or 28, the remainder indicates the year of the cycle of Indiction, of the Moon, or of the Sun, accordingly.

LECT. I. not reach to the reign of Herod, under whom, beyond controversy, Christ was born, or to thirty years before the 15th year of Tiberius¹. But however that may be, since it would certainly fall before the Passion of Christ, it is sufficient for the exactness of ecclesiastical history if some year in this era be fixed upon in which that day of Pentecost, wherein the Church begun, may be said to have fallen; for from thence to our own time a true series of subsequent events may be traced; moreover, this will be shewn more satisfactorily if the years of the Roman emperors, under whom the affairs in the primitive Church were carried on, and the consuls of the year are at the same time indicated; for both Eusebius, as well in his History as in his Chronological Canons, has noted the years of the emperors, and the Annals of the Consuls have in general been observed by Roman writers: the earliest councils also have distinguished their sessions by reference to the Consuls of the year.

Alex. Chron.
Hader's Ed.
1615, pp. 516,
524.

VI. I lay it down, then, with the Alexandrine Chronicle, as most agreeable to truth, that Christ suffered in the 19th year of Tiberius, the 33d of the common Christian era, 4746 of the Julian period, while Pontius Pilate was procurator in Judæa, and the consuls were Servius Sulpicius Galba and Lucius Corne-

¹ Luke iii. 1, 23.

lius Sylla. In this year, therefore, on May 24, LECT. I.
A.D. XXXIII.
Tib. 19. according to Romish chronologists¹, 120 men collected at Jerusalem awaited the speedy fulfilment of Christ's promise. *And when the day* Acts ii. 1. *of Pentecost was fully come*, when the fiftieth day from the resurrection of Christ dawned, *they were all* (i. e. 120, as most interpret it, or, certainly, *all the Apostles*, as is read in some MSS.) *with one accord in one place*: and it may be believed that the place was an 'upper room,' that 'upper room' which S. Luke mentions, Acts i. 13.

S. Cyril of Jerusalem writes that there existed in his time the 'upper church of the Apostles,' which, according to Bede², was founded by the Apostles, 'inasmuch as there they had received the Holy Ghost:' and, in truth, a most ancient church seems to have been built on that spot, though not one founded by the Apostles themselves; for, as Epiphanius relates, when the Emperor Hadrian came to Jerusalem he found the whole city entirely overthrown, and the temple of God destroyed 'except a few houses, and the Church of God, which was small;' this, he asserts, was placed on the spot at which the disciples, on their return after the Saviour had ascended from Mount Olivet, 'went up into the

Cyr. Catech.
xvi. 4.

Bede on Holy
Places, c. 2.

Epiphanius
de Pond.
c. 14.

¹ Usher also makes this Pentecost to have taken place on May 24. Works, Vol. x. p. 573. Ed. 1847.

² Bede here calls it 'a large church.'

LECT. I. upper room; for there had the church been built, that is, on the Sion side.' Nicephorus¹ also relates that Helena, the mother of Constantine, raised a very large church on Sion, in the hinder part of which she enclosed the house where 'the descent of the Holy Ghost in the upper room' took place.

Nicephorus.
B. viii. c. 30.

VII. Now those private 'upper rooms' were places devoted always by the Jews to religious purposes, at least from the time that Daniel the prophet was said to have gone up into his upper room to pray; *and his windows being open in his 'chamber' toward Jerusalem*: as Sarah also, the daughter of Raguel, is said to have come down from the 'upper room' where she had been praying. Hence the Jews² called their wise men 'Sons of an upper room.' In such they celebrated the Passover; *and he will shew you a large upper room³ furnished*. In such they laid out the bodies of the dead after they had been washed, as we read of Dorcas; *whom, when they had washed, they laid her in an upper chamber*: accordingly, when Peter came, they are said to have led him into the 'upper chamber.' Wherefore the Apostles having returned to Jerusalem

Dan. vi. 10.

Tob. iii. 17.

Mark xiv. 15.

Acts ix. 37,
39.

¹ In the same chapter Nicephorus gives a full description of the several sacred buildings which the pious Helena raised in Palestine.

² Compare Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. on Acts i. 13.

³ The word used here is ἀνώγειον, not ὑπεργειον.

after the Lord's ascension, 'went up into the LECT. I.
upper room,' where *they continued with one accord* Acts i. 13.
in prayer and supplication.

VIII. And while they were in that place, Acts ii. 2-4.
suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a
rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house
where they were sitting. And there appeared unto
them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon
each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy
Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as
the Spirit gave them utterance. This miracle of
the Pentecost, plainly a strange event, at once
brought together the people of Jerusalem. *And* Acts ii. 5.
there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men
out of every nation under heaven; in the first
place, because it was the day of Pentecost; and
in the next, because of the persuasion concern-
ing the coming of the Messiah. For although
foreign Jews were not obliged to appear before
the Lord, yet so many dispersions through the
watchful providence of God had already oc-
curred, that the state of the Jews was well
adapted for their receiving the sound of the
Gospel, and bearing it off into very distant
lands; and all Jews, in whatever region or dis-
trict they were dispersed, looked upon Jeru-
salem as the metropolis of their country. So
Philo says, 'On account of their multitude one
district does not contain the Jews; wherefore

Phil. in
Flacc.
p. 971. e.
Ed. Paris.
1640.

LECT. I.

Phil. ad Cai.
p. 1031. d.

they sojourn in the greater number and in the more prosperous of the cities throughout the provinces and islands of Europe and Asia, having for their metropolis the Holy City in which the temple is consecrated to the most high God.' And Agrippa, in the letter to the Emperor Caius, 'But I must speak in an appropriate manner concerning the Holy City: this, as I said, is my country, and is the metropolis not of one district only, Judæa, but of very many; by reason of the colonies, which at various times it hath sent out, some of them lying close by, and others scattered at a distance.' He proceeds to enumerate these districts, and they are many more than those which are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

Phil. ad Cai.
pp. 1032, 1038.

Not a few Jews, born in the colonies, especially those who were religious, had a fixed dwelling at Jerusalem; whence those words of S. Luke: 'There were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men out of every nation under heaven;' as well as those of Agrippa: 'Ten thousand cities established in every clime of the world,' and, 'the Jews of all parts of the world.' But besides those who dwelt at Jerusalem there were at that time the sojourners, stranger proselytes, who frequented Jerusalem for various objects, especially on the feast-days, among the chief of which was this day of Pentecost.

IX. These then, as well Jews as proselytes, LECT. I.
 born and educated in various districts, used
 various languages or dialects according to the
 nation from which they came. Now when they
 had come together, and had heard the rumour
 of the miraculous descent of the Spirit upon
 the Apostles, they were evidently seized with
 admiration, and confounded, because that *every* Acts ii. 6.
man heard them speak in his own language. And
 while some of them were doubting and some
 mocking, *Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted* Acts ii. 14.
up his voice and said unto them... But what does
 'with the eleven' mean? S. Chrysostom says, Chrysa. on
Acts.
Hom. IV.
 'they sent forth a common voice, and he was
 the mouth of all, but the eleven were standing
 by bearing witness to his words.' Peter accord-
 ingly, in a very serious address, refutes calum-
 nies, explains the prophecy concerning Christ
 and His Resurrection, discourses of His Ascension
 and the descent of the Spirit, calls the Jews to
 repentance and baptism, and gains three thou-
 sand of his auditors over to an acknowledgement
 of the truth.

X. We must observe in the first place what
 these Jews did, who by the preaching of the Apos-
 tles were converted to the Christian faith; how
 they were received into the Church; and how
 they behaved in it.

Then they that received his word were baptized. Acts ii. 41.

LECT. I.

Tert. de
Pudic.
c. 21.

Matt. xxviii.
19.

Thus S. Peter 'first in the baptism of Christ unlocked the entrance of the kingdom of heaven,' as Tertullian says. Thus for the first time was the express command of Christ fulfilled by the Apostles, *Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Neither do the Apostles seem as yet to have understood those words of 'teaching all nations' otherwise than of the Jews of all nations: howbeit these were at that time received into the Church of Christ by baptism, nor could they ever be received in any other manner, or be otherwise made Christians, notwithstanding the recent dotings of Socinus to the contrary.

Acts II. 42.

Matt. xxviii.
20.

Tert. de
Præa. Hæc.
c. xxxii.

XI. In the next place, *They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine,* and indeed *with one accord,* as some MSS. and Chrysostom read it: that is to say, the Apostles were imbuing them daily, after they had received baptism, with the knowledge of Christ and were impressing upon them His precepts, according to the other part of the commandment which Christ gave to the Apostles, *Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you;* and to their doctrine all, who had been already converted, adhered with the utmost unanimity, with what Tertullian calls 'a consanguinity of doctrine.'

XII. In the third place, they continued

stedfastly in the communion of the breaking of bread, or *in fellowship and in breaking of bread*; LECT. I. Acts ii. 42. i.e. according to the Syriac, *the breaking of the Eucharist*. For the old writers would not allow that a fellowship of goods, and a meal in common, was all that is here meant, but also a partaking of the Lord's Supper. S. Paul having called the Eucharist a 'Communion,' Chrysostom observes, 'have you not heard how the three thousand, who enjoyed the Communion, were stedfastly persevering in prayer and in doctrine?' In the Epistle to the Corinthians S. Paul had said that the Lord's Supper is a 'Communion,' and mentioned the breaking of bread therein at the same time: *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* 1 Cor. x. 16. S. Luke, the companion of S. Paul, seems to have used these words in the same manner; as afterwards S. Ignatius also, 'Breaking one bread which is an antidote to death.' Ign. Eph. § 20. In the same manner S. Luke was understood by the ancients¹, in the Gospel, *and how he was known of them in breaking of bread*. Luke xxiv. 35. So also in Acts xx. 7, *when the disciples came together to break bread*.

For although the breaking of bread may signify only a common meal, yet since bread is clearly said to be broken in the Lord's Supper;

¹ Compare Sermo de Sigillis, § 5, in the works of Chrysostom, and Augustine de Genesi xi. 31.

LECT. I. since in the most ancient Churches it was their custom to celebrate the Eucharist daily¹; since they were wont to take the bread and wine for that sacred purpose out of the oblations² which were made by the people; it can scarcely be doubted but that the three thousand here celebrated the Lord's Supper in a daily communion and in breaking of bread.

Acts ii. 42. XIII. In the fourth place, *they continued stedfastly in prayers*; that is, public and common prayers, offered by the Apostles in the assembly. Under the law of Moses there seems to have been no order devised with reference to prayers, still the pious used to pray frequently in the temple, and John the Baptist taught his disciples to pray; whence a disciple once said to Christ, Luke xi. 1. *Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples*: whereupon Christ himself gave utterance to that prayer which we call 'the Lord's Prayer.' The Apostles, therefore, in whom the Holy Spirit brought to mind all things whatsoever Christ had before revealed to them, both used that prayer, and also introduced others³,

¹ Compare Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer, § 18, and Basil, Ep. 289.

² See Council of Carthage, III. c. xxiv.; and compare Bingham's Eccles. Antiq. Lib. xv. c. 2, § 3.

³ 'It seems difficult to place the origin of these four great Liturgies (the great Oriental Liturgy, the Alexandrian, the Roman and the Gallican) at a lower period than the apostolic age.' Palmer's Orig. Liturg. p. 8.

from which have been derived, almost without change, the most ancient forms of prayer in all Churches.

XIV. This then supplies us with, as it were, the outline and portrait of that first Church which was collected, instructed, and governed by the Apostles. When assent had once been given to the Apostles' preaching, the believers were admitted by baptism into the Church; after admission into the Church they frequented the public assembly; there they diligently waited upon the teaching of the Apostles, who shewed them the way of the Lord more perfectly; they also took their common meal together, and were then made partakers of the Eucharist; lastly, public and common prayers being offered up in the same assembly, they rendered their homage unto God, affording an example to all Churches unto the end of time.

XV. The other provisions, which were rather for a time, and were specially adapted to the circumstances of that time, are the two following. The former concerns the Apostles who instructed and ruled the Church: *And many wonders and signs were done by the Apostles in Jerusalem*; for thus was their doctrine plainly shewn to have been revealed from heaven. Not only did they thus make it manifest that Christ, by faith in whose name not by their own power

LECT. I.

or holiness they professed that they did all these things, rose again after His death and went up into heaven; but they also made it evident that it was God's will that all men should credit those whom He had so plainly furnished with divine power.

XVI. The latter provision concerns the people that were converted to the faith: *And all that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need.* Such was the nature of the religion which they embraced that from the hope of eternal life they could easily regard with indifference all the good things of this world; such was the state of the times that they could hardly reckon upon a stable possession of their own property; lastly, such was their care for all who had embraced the same faith that each thought himself bound to assist the wants of others, and to be zealous for the common well-being of the Church. This, as Chrysostom says, was 'angel's polity,' this, the first bud which the youthful Church put forth.

Chrys.
on Acts.
Hom. vii.

XVII. So they continued stedfastly praising God, and having favour with all the people. . . .

XVIII. It was the undoubted prerogative of the Church of Jerusalem that it was without controversy the first Church of all. The Church of Antioch boasted that it was founded by S. Peter; and the Church of Rome much more;

while it is plain that the Church of Jerusalem is not only more ancient than that of Rome, but than that of Antioch too, and than all other Churches; moreover, that it was first founded by S. Peter, nay, by all the Apostles together, S. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, says rightly, 'we have the precedence of all,' we, i. e. of Jerusalem: and Jerome, 'but the Church at first founded in Jerusalem supplied the seed for the Churches in the whole world; and well was it said by the Holy Ghost, not "in Sion and Jerusalem shall the word and the law of the Lord be and abide," but, "out of them shall they go forth," that He might signify that all nations should be watered by the teaching of God which issued from that spring.'

LECT. I.

Cyr. Catech.
xvi. 4
Jerome on
Isai. ii. 3.

This then the Council of Constantinople calls the Mother of all Churches, in a synodic Epistle addressed to bishops assembled at Rome: 'We make known that Cyril is the very reverend and pious bishop of the Mother of all Churches, the Church in Jerusalem.' Hence, the Emperor Justin in a letter to Pope Hormisdas called this Church the Mother of the Christian name: 'For gathering together, and bringing into union, the Churches to be revered in all places, and especially the Church of Jerusalem, to which, as mother of the Christian name, all owe so much good-will, that no one would venture to separate

See Labbei
Concil. Vol.
iii. p. 585. e.
A.D. 381.

Labbei
Concilia.
Vol. viii.
p. 510. c.
A.D. 520.

LECT. I

Jerome.
Ep. 17.

himself from it.' And Jerome says, 'Our whole religion is indigenous in that province and city.' However much, therefore, other Churches may contend for the primacy, the first and mother of all Churches was that of Jerusalem.

LECTURE II.

ACTS III. 1 TO V. 16.

I. WHEN the first members of the Church, already above three thousand, were conducting all things at Jerusalem under the direction of the Apostles, and when through the Apostles many wonders and signs were being wrought, one circumstance is especially worthy of remark. Peter and John, a pair in eminence, *went up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour*: Peter, who greatly loved Christ; and John, whom Christ chiefly loved; who were sent together by Christ to prepare the Last Supper; who followed Christ, after he had been taken and bound, into the hall of the High Priest; who went together to the sepulchre of Christ; whom the other Apostles afterwards sent into Samaria; these two, I say, went up together into the temple. Thus, as S. Chrysostom observes, 'Everywhere these two appear to have been most unanimous.'

LECT. II.

Acts iii. 1.

Luke xii. 8.

John xviii. 16.

John xx. 3.

Acts viii. 14.

Chrysost.
Hom. viii.
on the Acts.

II. But they went up into the temple *at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour*. Although Moses in the law had not expressly prescribed any prayers, yet the pious Jews used to pray,

LECT. II. especially at the time when the sacrifices were offered. The continual sacrifice was morning and evening: the evening began at the ninth hour, and at that time prayers began. The Apostles therefore went at that hour to the temple, that they too might observe in their devotions the same place and time as the Jews.

III. Hence they cite the precedent of stated hours, which they call canonical, in ecclesiastical devotions; and they contend indeed that three such were observed at the beginning by the Apostles themselves, and were recommended to the Church. But this tradition is not at all to be relied on.

The Apostles at Jerusalem went up to the temple, and there observed those hours of devotion which were customary with the Jews. When the Apostles were living away from Jerusalem, and even when they were dead, the primitive Christians assembled together in one place: but we nowhere read that they always kept to the same hours. Thus S. Paul cautions the Hebrews not to 'forsake the assembling of themselves together,' and makes no mention of the hour. S. Barnabas says, 'Ye ought not to withdraw yourselves into privacy, as if ye were alone justified, but coming together in one place ye ought to enquire what is useful and profitable for those who share in a common love.' S. Ignatius writes,

Heb. x. 25.

Barnabas.
Ep. c. 4.

'But let there be one prayer in common, one supplication; let all meet as at the temple of God, as at one altar.' Pliny at the same period of time observed that the Christians of his province 'on a stated day meet together before dawn, and sing among themselves a hymn to Christ as God.' That stated day, not long afterwards Justin Martyr testifies, was Sunday.

LECT. II.

Ign. Magn. c. 7.

Plin. B. x. Ep. 97.

Just. I. Ap. c. 67.

IV. The first¹ who has made any mention of 'hours' is Tertullian, and that when he was already a confirmed Montanist fiercely disputing against the Church and shewing that the Catholic assemblies closed at the ninth hour, which is foreign to the question. After Tertullian S. Cyprian specifies the sixth and ninth hours; but he derives them from Daniel, not remarking that the ninth hour was observed by the Apostles. Those afterwards who clung strongly to monastic institutions brought forward every passage of Scripture they could, in order to establish as many hours of prayer as possible; for instance, S. Basil², Jerome³, Cassian⁴, and the author of the Homily on Virginity, under the name of Athanasius⁵.

Tert. de Jejun. c. 10.

Cypr. on the Lord's Prayer, c. 34.

Dan. vi. 10.

¹ Clem. Rom. Ep. c. 40, states the necessity for 'determinate times and hours' of divine service, but does not assert that one hour has any claim above another to be thus set apart.

² Basil, 'Sermo Asceticus,' Vol. II. p. 449, e. Garnier. 1839.

³ Jerome, Epistles VII. VIII. XXI. XXVII.

⁴ Cassian, de Monach. Institut. Lib. III.

⁵ Athanasius, Vol. I. p. 1051, A. Paris. 1627.

22 *Peter's Speech on healing the Lame Man.*

LECT. II.

V. At the ninth hour, therefore, while the evening sacrifice was being prepared, and when pious Jews were engaged in prayer, Peter and John went together to the temple; and a man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful. This man, whom they all knew, S. Peter immediately healed; and as he held Peter and John, all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly wondering. But Peter speaking very freely, admonishes the Jews that stood by, and teaches them that the lame man was healed through faith in that Christ whom they had crucified. *And many of them which heard the word believed, and the number of men was about five thousand*; in which number it is doubtful whether the three thousand who were converted at the former speech are included or not.

Acts iv. 4.

VI. And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees, came upon them. For in the castle of Antonia which joined the temple, 'there always lay a Roman legion;' 'those Roman soldiers,' as Josephus testifies, 'watched the people lest they should attempt any innovations.' The prefect of these soldiers approached as soon as the people began to crowd together, apprehensive that a sedition might arise. The priests joined them-

Joseph.
Jewish War,
L. v. c. 5. § 8.

selves to him; for they took it ill that Peter and John, private Jews, should teach the people; the Sadducees also came up, excited more than all the rest, because the Apostles preached in Jesus the resurrection of the dead, which they altogether denied. They therefore laid hands on them, and put them in hold until the next day. LECT. II.

But then *their rulers, and elders, and scribes, and* Acts iv. 5, 6.
Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, were gathered together at Jerusalem; for these things were thought of so much moment that the Sanhedrim was assembled on the next day. The importance of this Sanhedrim is shewn not only by the dignity of those who composed it being noticed, for the assembly consisted of the princes of the people, the elders, scribes, and all who were of the kindred of the high priest; but also, by the names of those individuals who were chief among them being given. For of this Sanhedrim Annas or Ananas was president, who had himself previously administered the office of high priest; but after he had been deposed by Valerius Gratus, the Roman president of Judæa, he still held a position of very great authority among the Jews, and was the prince of the Sanhedrim, whom they called Nasi, or Rosh. Caiaphas is united with him, who now for seven years had enjoyed the high-priestly Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 2. 1, 2.
Joseph. Antiq. xx. 6. 2.
Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 2. 2. & 4. 3.

LECT. II.

John xviii.
13.Joseph.
Antiq. xviii.
8. 1.Jerom. Catal.
Script. Eccles.Joseph.
Antiq. xix.
8. 1.Joseph.
Jewish War,
v. 5. 3.

office; when that dignity came to be habitually transferred at the will of the presidents, this happened to no one except him; and he is elsewhere called 'the high priest of that year,' not because he was high priest only that year, but because some before him and many after him were made high priests for one year only. In the third place came John, the son, as it is thought, of Annas; but the fourth is Alexander (as it seems probable) Lysimachus, brother of the very celebrated Jewish writer Philo; Josephus writes, 'Philo, the leader of the Jewish embassy, a man on all accounts eminent, and brother to Alexander the alabarch, or governor.' And Jerome in his Catalogue writes of this brother, 'Philo the Jew, an Alexandrine by nation, of the kindred of the high priest.' Alexander therefore was of the kindred of the high priests, and moreover a very wealthy Jew. He had been steward of Antonia, mother of the emperor Claudius, as Josephus testifies; and he covered with silver and gold nine gates of the temple of Jerusalem. Tiberius was not his father, as Baronius wrongly asserts, but he was the father of one Tiberius.

VII. These, therefore, assembled in the Great Sanhedrim; and, sitting in the form of a semicircle, set Peter and John in the midst, and asked them by what power or by what name they had done this; and Peter answering that

this was done by the name of Jesus Christ, when they had threatened them, they let them go. LECT. II.

VIII. I am of opinion that these things were done in the 19th year of Tiberius, within three months of the day of Pentecost; but the 20th year of Tiberius began on the 19th of the month of August; for on that day, according to Dio and Suetonius, Augustus had died: whatever therefore took place during the four next months belong to the 20th year of Tiberius, but still to the same 33d year of the common Christian era.

A.D. XXXIII.
Tib. 20.

IX. Now there were at that time at Jerusalem two kinds of Jews, whereof those who believed on Christ as preached by the Apostles were called 'Believers.' *And all that believed were together, Acts ii. 24. And believers were the more added to the Lord, (v. 14). Certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, (xv. 5). Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of the Jews there are which believe, (xxi. 20).* Nor were they, at that time, distinguished from the rest of the Jews by any other title.

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own. Still they did not have all things common in such way that each who wished might enjoy the property of another, but all things were administered for the common good of the Church; and that was done at the will or discretion of Acts iv. 32.

LECT. II.

Acts iv. 34,
35.

the Apostles, to whom had been entrusted the power of governing the Church: *For as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet: so that in truth it was in their power to dispense all for the common support of the faithful, which also they did; for distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* Whence, too, it came to pass that the goods of the Church were afterwards entrusted to the bishops, as to the successors of the Apostles. Jerome says, 'In the Acts of the Apostles, when the blood of our Lord was yet warm, and a young faith was glowing in the believers, they sold all their possessions, and laid the price of them at the Apostles' feet, to shew that money was worthy of no regard; and there was given to each according as he had need.'

Jerome.
Ep. viii.Acts iv. 36,
37.

X. On this point two very notable examples are recorded by S. Luke. First: *Joses, who by the Apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the Apostles' feet.* He, therefore, was a Jew, sprung from Jewish parents, and indeed of the tribe of Levi; not born in Judæa, but in the island of Cyprus; first by his parents he was named Joseph, or, as some copies have it, Joses; afterwards by

the Apostles he was surnamed Barnabas, that LECT. II.
 is, as S. Luke interprets it, 'Son of consolation.'
 S. Jerome, on Hebrew names, says Barnabas is,
 'Son of a prophet,' or 'Son of one coming,' or,
 as many think, 'Son of consolation.' Thus¹ he
 adduces all the derivations; as 'Bar' (son of),
 either 'Nabi' (a prophet), or a derivative from
 'Bo' (to come), or from 'Bee' (to console), as by
 the Syriac interpreter it is also rendered, 'Son
 of consolation.' We are not told in sacred writ
 when this Joseph first embraced the faith of
 Christ, but there is an old tradition that he was
 one of the seventy disciples. Clement of Alex.
 andria says, 'It is not necessary for me to use Clem. Alex.
Strom. II. 20.
 more words when I can bring forward as witness
 the apostolic Barnabas; but he was one of the
 seventy, and a fellow-worker with Paul.' This
 tradition Eusebius refers first to Clement's seventh Euseb. Eccl.
Hist. II. 1.
 book of his work *Hypotyposeson*; whence also he
 himself says, 'There is indeed nowhere recorded Euseb. Eccl.
Hist. I. 12.
 any list of the seventy-disciples; Barnabas, how-
 ever, is said to have been one of them.'

An epistle under his name is extant, both
 in Greek and Latin, and has been printed, but
 neither the Greek nor Latin is perfect. Menard
 transcribed the Latin from the Codex Cor-
 beiensis, to which he added the Greek, which

¹ Hefele proposes another meaning of this name 'Son of
 inspired language,' from Bar-Nebuah.

LECT. II.

had before been arranged by Turrianus, illustrating the work with annotations. Isaac Voss somewhat improved the Greek text from three other MSS., and it is plain that this is the same epistle as that which the ancients possessed; for Clement¹ of Alexandria, Origen², and the author³ of the Apostolic Constitutions, quote a good deal from it: Eusebius⁴ reckons it among apocryphal works: Nicephorus⁵ among those which are disputed. S. Jerome says: 'Barnabas the Cyprian, who was also called Joseph, a Levite, having been appointed an apostle of the Gentiles with Paul, composed an epistle tending to edify the church, which is read among the apocryphal scriptures;' and again, 'But the calf which was slain for us is mentioned both in many places of Scripture, and especially in the Epistle of Barnabas, which is reckoned among the apocryphal scriptures.' There⁶ certainly was no one

Jerome, Cat.
Scrip. Eccl.

On Ezek.
xliii. 18.

¹ Clem. Strom. II. and v. several passages.

² Origen against Celsus, Lib. I. c. 63, and De Princ. Lib. III. c. 2, § 4.

³ Compare Lib. VIII. with Ep. of Barnabas, c. 19.

⁴ 'Among the spurious,' Euseb. Ecc. Hist. III. 25; and 'among the disputed,' VI. 14.

⁵ Nicephorus, IV. 33.

⁶ Bishop Pearson, Vind. Ignat. Part I. c. 4, p. 37, ed. 1672, thus comments on the statements of Jerome: 'he states that there was an epistle of Barnabas, not in his opinion spurious; he asserts that it conduced to the edification of the Church, he did not therefore account it heretical; yet he shews that it was an apocryphal scripture, the authority

of the ancients who would not have attributed this epistle to Barnabas, nor does there appear anything in it which is inconsistent with a work of that age. LECT. II.

XI. This example of Barnabas comes first, and is well worthy of regard; that which follows is but too unhappy. For *a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the Apostles' feet*: but when Peter discovered their fraud, and shewed that they had sinned against the Holy Ghost, at his mere word and reproof they fell down dead, and were buried by the disciples. Acts v. 1, 2.

Porphyry complained that S. Peter was cruel in this punishment, whence the Fathers frequently write in his defence. S. Jerome says, 'the Apostle Peter by no means calls down death upon them, as the foolish Porphyry falsely lays to his charge, but by a prophetic spirit announces the judgment of God, that the punishment of two persons might be the instruction of many.' Jerome.
Ep. viii. So S. Augustine, Cassian¹, and Isidore² of Pelusium; and, before Porphyry's objection was made, Origen. Aug. agt.
Parmenas.
L. III. c. 1.
Orig. on
Matt. Tom.
xv. c. 15.

XII. The multitude was awed by this example of which he insinuates was not altogether rejected by the Church.'

¹ Cassian de Cœnob. Instit. vii. 25, 30, and Collat. vi. 11.

² Isidore, Lib. i. Ep. 181.

LECT. II.

Acts v. 15.

Baron.
Ann. 34.
§ CCLXX.

of severity, and many signs and wonders were wrought among the people, as yet *by the hands of the Apostles: insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.* Those who hence urge the antiquity of image-worship shew the poverty of argument under which they labour; but Baronius in his Ecclesiastical Annals argues thus: 'What too is the shadow of Peter but the express image of the body of Peter? Surely they will not tell us that the art of painting derived its origin from any other source than from images of the same kind, formed by a shadow; so that you may hereby remark that in the instance of Peter's shadow the pious worship of images was at the beginning hallowed by God in that early Church through so many and great miracles.'

§ CCLXXI

XIII. Again, Baronius¹ deduces from the same miracle the doctrine of the power of the Roman pontiff: 'Since,' he says, 'God endowed the shadow of Peter with the same virtue as he had endowed his body, surely, by a measure of graces being conferred by God on the chief

¹ I trust that I have not misrepresented Baronius in my translation of this passage; the mystery, which he discovers in the circumstance related Acts v. 15, is not very lucidly explained.

of the apostles so great that those gifts bestowed on the person of Peter were thus transferred to Peter's shadow, it seems to be expressed typically that he intended the same should happily be carried on in the successors of Peter, who resemble his person: thus implying; that although they were not all holy as Peter; but some of them with regard to morals very unlike him, yet inasmuch as they would represent the person of the same Peter, they should also retain that same power which was committed to him by God; and all states should know that those are to be honoured as Peter, who in this respect resemble at least Peter's shadow.' Which, as though they were excellent remarks, Francis Long has transcribed into his breviary.

LECT. II.

Long's Chronological Breviary of Popes and Councils. Ed. 1623, p. 7.

XIV. They contend, indeed, that all the papal decrees which they now hold are derived by tradition from the very times of the Apostles; and this seems strange to us, because we plainly perceive the origin of many in later centuries. But they have the Ecclesiastical Annals of the most eminent Cardinal Baronius, in which the earliest indications of almost all of them are produced. Now this annalist uses a twofold artifice whereby he may gain for novelties the authority of very high antiquity, and a corresponding reverence. First, he cites the authority of those writers who

LECT. II.

spread the doctrines of their own times under the names of very ancient authors ; such is, in the first place, the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions, who after five centuries hands down the doctrines and ceremonies of his own time as if they were prescribed by the Apostles themselves ; such too are almost all the works under the name of Clement of Rome, which he is as fond of as if they had really come from the companion of the Apostles : such are those under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, which were neither composed nor published until the fourth century ; such the epistles compiled at the end of seven centuries, under the names of the first popes of Rome ; such several epistles falsely attributed to S. Ignatius, and interpolations of the true Epistles, concocted in the fifth or sixth century. From these and the like writings, regarded as genuine and undoubted, he tries to enforce the ceremonies and doctrines of all times, as if they were really apostolic.

Secondly, since there have been some things introduced so lately into the Church that they were not even known to those impostors in their age, he endeavours to rake them up out of Scripture itself ; such, among the first, is that doctrine of the pious worship of images, about which even in the fictitious books I have mentioned there is profound silence ; he therefore derives this wor-

ship from the Acts of the Apostles, and indeed LECT. II.
from the shadow of Peter.

XV. Thus also the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff over the whole Catholic Church, which has always been so strenuously denied by the Greeks, is derived from the same shadow of S. Peter; and from a fact respecting it that occurred some time before S. Peter was at Rome (of whose jurisdiction, while he was at Rome, no memorial is left); nay, before even the name of Christ had been heard at Rome. These then, and other errors of the same kind are easily detected throughout the Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius, the frauds of those who vaunt in a pretended antiquity being exposed without trouble: and it is indeed a chief end of Ecclesiastical history to record the true origin of every opinion, and to trace the rise not only of heresies and schisms, but of doctrines also, and ceremonies in the Church itself.

For some years the Apostles themselves thought that the Jews alone ought to be received into the Church; the time is known when they first admitted the Gentiles: it was, at first, made a question whether the converted Gentiles ought to be circumcised; and we know at what time circumcision was rejected: at first, the whole body of Christians was governed by the Apostles alone; these afterwards set over every

34 *Duty of an Ecclesiastical Historian.*

LECT. II

Church superintendents such as were to continue to the end of time : at first, the believers were not distinguished from Jews ; afterwards, at Antioch, they were first called Christians.

By what degrees therefore the Church of God grew and was brought to its proper condition ; when sound language (on controverted points of doctrine) was first introduced ; in what time and manner ecclesiastical discipline was established ; what doctrines were at the first impressed on the faithful ; how the Catholics met heresies as they were put forth ; these things, I say, it is the duty of an Ecclesiastical Historian to exhibit without party-affection, and to draw out in order from the genuine memoirs of the Church ; and there can be nothing more effectual than this for allaying the heat of theological controversies.

LECTURE III.

ACTS V. 17 TO VI. 6.

WHEN the fame of the many persons that had been cured by the Apostles at Jerusalem reached the neighbouring districts, there came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks and them that were vexed with unclean spirits, and they were healed every one. But the high priest, and the Sadducees with him, put the Apostles in the common prison; an angel by night freed them from confinement, at whose command they taught in the temple early in the morning. The Sanhedrim being assembled, they seek in vain for the Apostles in the prison, they apprehend them as they are teaching in the temple, and set them before the council; they rehearse the commands they had given; S. Peter and the Apostles choose rather to obey the command of God; at last Gamaliel proffers the wholesome advice that they should dismiss the Apostles, and wait for the event.

LECT. III.

Here some of the ancients allege that Gamaliel was in mind a Christian, as was Nicodemus; and indeed the author of the 'Recognitions,'

LECT. III. under the name of Clement of Rome, introduces
 Recog. Clem. Peter speaking thus, ' Which when Gamaliel saw,
 I. 9. who was a person of influence among the people,
 but secretly our brother in the faith, and with our
 privity was among them ;' as if the apostles were
 then so cunning that they kept a disciple in the
 Sanhedrim. And yet Baronius believes this to be
 quite certain, inasmuch as Gamaliel was buried
 by Christians with the martyr Stephen ; his body
 after almost four centuries having been found
 with the body of Stephen. It seems to me that
 Gamaliel was a very obstinate Pharisee, and on
 that account gave advice that the Apostles
 should be dismissed, for the reason that the
 Sadducees accused them, and that they so stoutly
 maintained the resurrection.

Baronius.
 Anno 34.
 c. CCLXXV.

See Lect. IV.
 Art. VIII.

II. In the speech of Gamaliel there occurs
 a very great subject of controversy as regards
 history and chronology: *Before these days*, he says,
 Acts v. 36, 37. *rose up Theudas, and after him rose up Judas of
 Galilee in the days of the taxing*: and Josephus
 testifies indeed that one Theudas did rise up,
 Jos. Ant. xx. but according to him it was when Fadus was
 & I. procurator of Judæa, and twelve years after this
 speech of Gamaliel was delivered in the Sanhe-
 drim. Learned men remark, that they would
 maintain the authority of S. Luke, that Jose-
 phus either deceives or was deceived, and that
 Theudas raised a sedition long before the time

of Fadus. But others think that there were two of the name Theudas; one, the person to whom Gamaliel alludes, and another, an individual of the same stamp, mentioned by Josephus. Lastly, some think that there was only one Theudas, and that he was the person who is described by Josephus, but that S. Luke here speaks by anticipation, introducing the story as it were of himself, inasmuch as it fitted so well his present argument: which indeed, if allowed, easily solves the difficulty; but in my opinion it ought not to be allowed without great reluctance.

III. This seems to have taken place in the latter part of the 33rd year of the common Christian era, and in the earlier part of the 20th year of Tiberius. In the succeeding 34th year, beginning at the calends of January, Paulus Fabius Persicus, or Priscus, and Lucius Vitellius Nepos, were made consuls.

Tac. Ann.
vi. 26.
Dion. Cass.
lviii. 24.

IV. To the beginning of this year it would seem is to be referred that which is related, not in the Scriptures, but in early ecclesiastical writers, of Pontius Pilate; for, as the acts of the Senate, and the daily affairs of the Roman people were chronicled, so also in the Roman provinces a chronicle was kept by the presidents, and by the procurators of the Cæsars; and these officers very often wrote to the emperors on matters of importance, as may be frequently seen in Roman

A.D. xxxiv.
Tib. 20.

- LECT. III. history ; so that Eusebius says, ' An old custom has obtained with the heathen rulers of signifying to him who possesses the supreme authority any novelties they may have introduced.' Hence Pontius Pilate is said both to have taken care that acts of his government should be compiled, and to have sent a letter concerning Christ to Tiberius. Of these acts Justin Martyr speaks clearly in the Apology which he addressed to a Roman emperor : ' And ye may know that these things were done from the acts of the time of Pontius Pilate.' Tertullian alludes either to acts or an epistle : ' Pilate himself also, already in his conscience a Christian, informed the then Emperor Tiberius of all things relating to Christ.' And Justin writes again in the same Apology : ' But that he did these things ye may learn from what took place with regard to him (αὐτῷ) in the time of Pontius Pilate ;' where, instead of αὐτῷ Isaac Casaubon has rightly conjectured we ought to read ἄκρων. Eusebius also says, ' Pilate communicated to the Emperor Tiberius the circumstances attending the resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ from the dead, which were already noised abroad throughout the whole of Palestine.' Hegesippus, a writer of the fourth or fifth century, produces in his Summary the letter of Pilate itself ; but, without doubt, this is fictitious. Also false and spurious acts were compiled
- Euseb. Eccl. Hist. II. 2.
- Just. I. Ap. c. 35.
- Tert. Lib. Apol. c. 21.
- Just. I. Ap. c. 42.
- Euseb. Eccl. Hist. II. 2.
- Heges. Anaceph. c. X.

by idle Christians, or rather heretics, such as those which the Quarta-decimans exhibited; to whom Epiphanius alludes: 'They boast forsooth that they have accurately determined the matter from the acts of Pilate, in which it is stated that the Saviour suffered on the 8th of the Calends of April.' And in the Homily on Easter ascribed to S. Chrysostom: 'For the memorials of things done in the time of Pilate contain also the appointment of Easter: it is related there that the Saviour suffered on the 8th of the Calends of April.' But Epiphanius observes that in his time the manuscripts of these acts varied: 'But yet we have found copies of the acts of Pilate' (for ἐκ τῶν it seems ἀκτῶν ought to be read) 'in which it appears that the Passion was on the 15th of the Calends of April.'

LECT. III.

Epiph. Adv.
Her. Lib. II.
Tom. I.
Her. I.

Chrys. VIII.
Hom. on
Easter.

Epiph. as
before.

But besides these, there were other acts of Pilate, forged by the Romans themselves, who were hostile to the Christian religion, full of impiety against Christ, which, at the command of the tyrant Maximinus were publicly circulated, both in the country and in the cities, and were given by schoolmasters to their pupils to be learnt, as Eusebius affirms.

Euseb. Eccl.
Hist. IX. 5.

The falsity of these acts Eusebius detects from the date of Tiberius' consulship, though not by the force of the argument which¹ he has

Eccl. Hist.
I. 9.

¹ The testimony of Josephus.

LECT. III. brought forward. The Romans, however, used these acts under Diocletian and Maximinus, in order to dissuade the Christians from martyrdom; as the words of Maximus, in the 'passion'¹ of the saints, Tarachus, Probus, and Andronicus,' prove: 'Fool, you do not know whom you invoke; Christ, a man, that was committed to the custody of Pontius Pilate, whose acts are among the public records.'

On the whole then we must believe that there were some acts of Pilate compiled by his authority and transmitted to Tiberius, which both heretics and heathens interpolated as they liked, so long as the true acts did not appear.

Lect. iv. What was the result of this reference to Tiberius,
Act. xiv. I will consider afterwards in its proper place.

V. The number of the Christians at Jerusalem meanwhile increasing, and their wealth also, which last was distributed under the superintendence of the Apostles, *there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration.*

Acts vi. 1.

Those Grecians, who are opposed to the Hebrews, are not called by S. Luke Hellenes, but Hellenists. 'There arose a murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews;' and it is quite

¹ See Ruinarti Acta Martyrum Sincera, p. 442. Ed. Amsterd. 1713.

true that they were not Hellenes, that is, Gentiles, for as yet no such were admitted into the Church. But since Jews alone and no Gentiles were as yet admitted, there arises a considerable difficulty in this distinction; viz. how some Jews should be called Hebrews and others Hellenists, and what difference it was between them out of which the murmuring arose. Especially since there is frequent mention of this distinction among ancient writers.

There are some who think that all the Jews who lived out of Judæa were, at one time, commonly called Hellenists, and that those who inhabited Jerusalem and Palestine were called Hebrews and Hebraists; as if this distinction indicated a difference of extraction: but this view is out of the question; for to Hellenize is to speak Greek, whence an Hellenist is one who uses the Greek language; and 'Hellenistically' means 'in Greek.' Now all the Jews which were born out of Palestine did not use the Greek language, but the dialect of that nation in which they were born, as is clear from the miracle wrought on the day of Pentecost; and some few Jews born at Jerusalem or in Palestine used the Greek language. S. Paul, born in Tarsus, and skilled in Greek, calls himself a Hebrew, and, indeed, of the Hebrews; so also the Hebrews born at Alexandria or Antioch were called

LECT. III. Jews of Alexandria or of Antioch. But here Hellenists are opposed to Hebrews, and else-

where¹ they are opposed by S. Luke to Jews. Hence they were neither Hebrews nor Jews by extraction; not Hebrews of Hebrews, not Jews of Jews; but Jews in religion only, *i. e.* proselytes. Now since there were two kinds of proselytes, those of whom mention is here made, were not simply 'the devout,' or proselytes of the gate, but rather the circumcised, or proselytes of righteousness; for those who were proselytes of the gate were not yet received into the Church, as is clear from the example of Cornelius. These proselytes therefore, since, before they were circumcised, they were Hellenes or Gentiles, although, as regards religion, Jews that had taken upon themselves to keep the whole Law, were still inferior to the Jews or Hebrews who boasted of their origin and descent from Abraham. Hence the neglect of their widows, and the complaint arising out of that neglect, or the 'murmuring of the Grecians.'

VI. But when the Apostles perceived that this murmuring had arisen, *having called the multitude of the disciples*, which had now grown to

¹ There is a various reading in this passage: both Scholz and Griesbach prefer the reading, 'Hellenes,' not 'Hellenists'; it may be questioned whether Pearson's remarks on the Hellenists are correct; see Wetstein's note on Acts vi. 1.

no few thousands, unto them, they said, *It is not* LECT. III.
reason that we should leave the word of God, and Acts vi. 2-5.
serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out
among you seven men of honest report, full of the
Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint
over this business :...and they chose Stephen, a man
full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip,
and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Par-
menas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch. From
 the Greek names of these persons it is clear
 that chief regard was had to the Hellenists in
 this election, and among them Nicolas is expressly
 designated 'a proselyte of Antioch.' Not that
 all were Hellenists, but that Jews, who had much
 intercourse with Greeks, were in the habit of
 adopting Greek names, as appears from many
 instances in Josephus.

Whom they set before the Apostles : and when Acts vi. 6.
they had prayed, they (i. e. the Apostles) laid their
hands on them. Thus a peculiar order in the
 Church was already appointed by the laying on of
 hands. The office, indeed, to which they were
 appointed was nothing else than *to serve tables*,
 and they were set *over this business*, which con-
 sisted in the *daily ministration*. Still the business
 was not merely lay or that of a steward, but it
 was in a measure sacred or for the service of
 the Church; for the tables of the disciples at
 that time were both common and sacred, that is,

LECT. III. in their common meal they celebrated the sacrament of the Eucharist : and it is clear that these men were chosen and ordained to a sacred office, for none were chosen but men who were full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom : And they were ordained by the laying on of the Apostles' hands in the manner of presbyters, or even bishops, and those who, besides the twelve, were called Apostles. Stephen, moreover, soon after preached the Gospel, and Philip catechized and baptized the eunuch. They were universally called indeed in after-times *deacons* from the act of *ministering*, and we frequently read of them in the Apostolic Epistles, but there is no account of the institution of their office except in this place.

1 Tim. iv. 14.
1 Tim. v. 22.
2 Tim. i. 6.
Acts xiii. 3.

As these seven men were joined with the Apostles in attending to the daily ministration, so in the primitive Church, deacons were always joined with the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles. Clement of Rome, speaking of the Apostles, writes : 'As they preached then in countries and cities, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had tried them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe.' The Shepherd of Hermas has 'The Squared and White Stones are the Apostles and Bishops and Teachers and Ministers' i.e. Deacons. S. Ignatius in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans salutes 'my fellow-servants

Clem. Rom.
1 Ep. c. 42.

Herm. Lib. 1.
vis. 3. c. 5.

Ign. Smyrn.
c. 12.

Error of Baronius concerning inferior Orders. 45

the deacons.' In the Epistle to the Trallians LECT. III.
he describes their office, 'But it is right that Ign. Trall. c.
the deacons, being ministers of the mysteries of
Jesus Christ, should in all respects satisfy all;
for they are not ministers of meat and drink, but
servants of the Church of God.' S. Polycarp
writes, 'In like manner let the deacons be blame-Polyc. Phil.
less in the presence of His righteousness, as c. 5.
ministers of God in Christ (Al. 'Of God and
Christ') and not of men, walking according to the
truth of the Lord, who was the minister of all.'

VII. We cannot therefore doubt but that
the Holy order of the Diaconate was at this
very time instituted by the Apostles, and that
the Deacons in the infancy of the Church dis-
charged these duties in connexion with their
office.

VIII. But what Baronius adds, 'It must be Baronius.
regarded as clear, that the Deacons did not Anno. 34. c.
by themselves undertake all the service of the CCLXXXII.
Church, but had many other orders of ministers
placed under them, from what the same S. Igna-
tius writes to the Antiochians, when he says,
'I salute the holy deacons,' and soon after 'I
salute the sub-deacons, the singers, the door-
keepers, the sextons, the exorcists, the con-
fessors; I salute the deaconesses, who have
charge of the sacred porches;' plainly savours
of spurious antiquity; for of most of these offices

46 *Error of Baronius concerning inferior Orders.*

LECT. III there is a profound silence in the early times ; and the epistle written under the name of Ignatius to the Antiochians was forged four hundred years after the death of the holy martyr : the remark of Baronius, moreover, for the purpose of making the meaning of the impostor clear, plainly depends on a sentence foisted in from a different passage.

LECTURE IV.

ACTS VI. 7 TO VIII. 4.

I. WHEN the seven deacons had been chosen LECT. IV.
by the disciples and ordained by the Apostles,
the latter were instant in prayer and in the
ministry of the word: *the word of God increased,* Acts vi. 7.
and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jeru-
salem greatly; and a great company of the priests
were obedient to the faith.

II. But in this year, i.e. the next to the Chron. Eu-
seb. A.D. 34.
year in which our Lord suffered, we read in the
Chronicle of Eusebius 'James, the Lord's bro-
ther, is ordained by the Apostles first bishop of
the Church at Jerusalem.' As regards the time,
I imagine, that Eusebius writes thus from con-
jecture, or from no very sure tradition; but
while there exists no certain trace of the exact
time, it may not inconveniently be assigned to
this year.

III. There are several points on which opi-
nions differ concerning this James. I will investi-
gate those which seem the most probable from
the oldest memorials. First, he is called in this
passage by Eusebius the Lord's brother, and

LECT. IV. afterwards by other writers¹ the 'brother of God,' and it is clear that he is all along represented in that character by his cotemporary Josephus,

Jos. Ant. xx. 9. 1. who thus speaks of Ananus the high-priest, 'So he assembled the Sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James.'

In Euseb.
Ecc. Hist.
ii. 23.

Hegesippus writes 'James, the brother of the Lord, who was generally called "the Just," together with the Apostles succeeded to the government of the Church, from the times of the Lord even to our own.' Hegesippus is the first to state that the same James, who was brother of the Lord, was also constantly called James the

Orig. against
Cels. i. 47.

Just. For the assertion of Origen² that Josephus testifies that Jerusalem was destroyed 'to avenge James the Just, since in his person they had killed one who was very just,' is not to be understood, as if Josephus had called him James the Just, or had proclaimed his justice; for no such passage is found in the copies of Josephus. After Hegesippus Clement of Alexandria says that the three Apostles 'chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem.' Eusebius writes, 'They relate then that this same James whom

In Euseb.
Ecc. Hist.
ii. 1.

¹ Chrysostom, Theophylact, &c. See Suicer on *Idem* *Sor.*

² Compare also Orig. against Cels. ii. 13, where he again quotes the testimony of Josephus to this opinion; probably the opinion of certain reflecting Jews is incautiously said by Origen to have been expressed by Josephus.

the ancients called by the surname of Just on LECT. IV.
 account of the excellence of his virtue, was the
 first to be placed in charge of the episcopal see
 in the Church at Jerusalem.' The same James
 therefore, who at one time was called the Lord's
 brother, at another was entitled James the Just.

IV. But it afterwards became a question in
 the Church who this James the Just, the Lord's
 brother, was; whether one of the Apostles, or
 one distinct from the Twelve. As far as my
 observations go, that opinion which lays it down
 that James the Bishop of Jerusalem was not¹
 one of the Apostles, took its rise from the spu-
 rious writings attributed to Clement. For the
 compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions often
 takes pains to distinguish him from the Apostles;
 and in the books of the 'Recognitions,' ascribed
 to the same Clement, he is not represented other-
 wise. Eusebius however, after recounting what the
 ancients had said of him, immediately adds, 'But
 there were two named James; one the Just, who
 was cast down the wing of the temple, and beaten
 to death by a fuller's club; and the other, who
 was beheaded:' since he only mentions two, of
 whom one was beheaded, who beyond contro-

Apos. Const.
VIII. 35, 40.

Recog. Clem.
Lib. i. p. 18. c.
Ed. Baale,
1526.

Euseb. Ecc.
Hist. II. 1.

¹ Dr Burton was of this opinion: see Bampton Lectures,
 Lect. iv. p. 105, Ed. 1831. I should prefer to side with
 Pearson on the question, but it would be out of place to give
 my reasons in full.

LECT. IV. versy was the Apostle the son of Zebedee, he seems to insinuate that the other was also an Apostle, for all would know James the son of Alphæus, the Apostle; and he then adds the passage of S. Paul which seems to favour this opinion very much; ‘And of him who is called the Just, Paul makes mention, “But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord’s brother.”’

Gal. i. 19.

V. However the case may be, whether James the Just, brother of the Lord, was one of the Apostles, viz. James, son of Alphæus, which is exceedingly probable; or related to Christ, but not included in the twelve; all fully adhere to the tradition that he was appointed by the Apostles, or by the Lord himself, Bishop of the Church at Jerusalem: and what is said of him in the Acts clearly shews that he exercised a peculiar authority in matters relating to that Church, as we shall clearly see in its proper place¹.

Acts vi. 8.

VI. At Jerusalem, in the meanwhile, *Stephen, full of faith² and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people*; and the disciples seem now not only to have come to the temple at the hours of sacrifice and prayer, and to have

¹ We have to remark that these Lectures on the Acts are incomplete, and accordingly we do not find that this promise was fulfilled.

² According to the Latin Vulgate, which Pearson followed, ‘grace.’

‘assembled ‘from house to house’¹, but also to LECT. IV.
have been present at the synagogues.

VII. For *there arose certain of the synagogue*, Acts vi. 9.
*which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and
Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia
and of Asia, disputing with Stephen.* Now this
was a synagogue of foreign Jews, i.e. of those
born in foreign parts but then dwelling at
Jerusalem, who are here all called after the
country of their birth: and, together with the
names of various nations, the Libertines are men-
tioned first, because their name was not derived
from a country; *Libertini* however not being a
Greek but a Latin word, clearly indicates the
nation from which they had come and assembled
at Jerusalem, to wit, the Roman; moreover it
expresses at the same time the condition of such
Jews.

Chrysostom writes, ‘the Libertines; the freed-
men of the Romans are thus called.’ Chrys. Hom. xv. on Acts. Rather,
the freedmen are called ‘liberti,’ the sons of
freedmen ‘libertini.’ Philo observes that the
Jews took their colonies into other parts, but not
into Italy. The Jews who kept up their paternal
religion in Italy were born of Jews who had
been led captive, and though at first slaves were
soon made freedmen. Thus in the account of the

¹ In the margin of our English Version this phrase is
rendered ‘at home,’ Acts ii. 46.

52 *Libertines, Cyrenians and Alexandrians.*

LECT. IV. Embassy to Caius, Philo speaks of the rule of

Phil. Leg. ad
Cai. p. 1014. c.

Augustus, 'How then did he tolerate the great quarter of Rome across the river Tiber, which he was aware was owned and tenanted by Jews?' The Roman Jews¹ were 'for the most part persons who had been manumitted; for after having been brought as captives to Italy, they were made free by their owners, and were not obliged to dissemble any of their paternal customs.' The progeny of these were the Jewish Libertines; but even before these times there were Jewish Libertines in the Roman empire; such, for instance, in his life of Cicero, Plutarch tells us was Quintius Cæcilius Niger, the Quæstor of Verres in Sicily. The Cyrenians, as that
2 Macc. ii. 23. Jason of Cyrene, from whose writings the 2nd book of Maccabees is taken, and Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross of Christ, and Lucius (Acts xiii. 1), were Jews sprung from those whom Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, transported to Cyrene; and the Alexandrians were descended from those whom the same Ptolemy had transported to Alexandria.

Joseph.
against
Apion. II. 4.

¹ At the end of the second Book of the Annals, Tacitus writes that in the reign of Tiberius, A. D. 19, as many as four thousand Libertines, infected with Jewish and Egyptian superstition, were, by act of the Senate, sent to Sardinia to put down the robbers; and that the rest were ordered to leave Italy, unless by a certain day they gave up their profane rites.

S. Stephen: His Martyrdom and Burial. 53

VIII. When the Jews therefore of Rome LECT. IV.
and Cyrene and Alexandria and Cilicia and Asia
disputed with the disciples, and especially with
the deacon Stephen, *they were not able to resist* Acts vi. 10.
the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake.
Whereupon they place him before the Sanhedrim,
and having suborned witnesses they accuse him
of blasphemy and of speaking against the law :
but Stephen in a very remarkable speech made
them the more angry ; and they calling out with
a loud voice stopped their ears, as if he had
uttered words full of blasphemy, and with one
accord ran upon him, and when they had cast
him out of the city stoned him. But the wit-
nesses who, according to the statute of Deutero- Deut. xiii. 9.
nomy, were the first to cast stones at him, laid
their clothes at the feet of a certain young man
named Saul, who was consenting to the death
of the martyr, and kept them.

And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and Acts viii. 2.
made a great lamentation over him. Luke indeed,
before these words occur, relates that a persecu-
tion had arisen, and that all were scattered
abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and
Samaria, except the Apostles. Baronius observes Baron. An.
34. § ccciii.
that Luke wrote thus because Stephen, at the
instance of the Jews, was not given up for burial
on the day that he was put to death ; but after-
wards, when the persecution in the Church, of

54 *Absurd Tradition about Stephen's body.*

LECT. IV.

which the Evangelist speaks, was accomplished. But, pr'ythee, why this observation? In the first place, that he may plausibly introduce a certain wonderful tradition, according to which the body of Stephen lay on the spot unburied for a day and night, and afterwards was borne on the carriage of Gamaliel to Caphargamala, twenty miles distant from Jerusalem, where lamentation was made seventy days. S. Luke, forsooth, was ignorant of this affair, which was revealed from heaven¹ three hundred years afterwards.

Baron.
§ ccciv.—
cccxviii.

In the second place, that he might from hence derive a precedent for all the funeral pomp which was afterwards used in the Church. In the third place, that he might make the remark that it was an apostolical tradition, that the bodies of the dead are to remain unburied for two or three days, that sacred dirges are to be sung and prayers offered for the deceased, and that the fire of purgatory is to be believed.

Those who thus interpret the sacred volume,

¹ Baronius quotes the letter of Lucian, of whom Genadius says, that 'he was a holy presbyter to whom, in the times of the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius, God revealed the place of sepulture and remains of the body of the Protomartyr S. Stephen: of which he wrote an account in Greek.'

Augustine, Sermon. 318, writes 'The body of Stephen lay concealed even to our times.' Lucian's letter in Latin is printed in the recent French edition of Augustine.

who thus write ecclesiastical annals, who thus LECT. IV. derive traditions from the earliest antiquity, may indeed make out anything to be apostolical; but such a course is the more extraordinary in Baronius; for he declares it to be his design to deduce doctrine from tradition, not tradition from doctrine.

IX. S. Luke simply says, 'Certain devout men together carried the body of Stephen,' now lifeless, as it would seem, to the burial-place; and the observation of Caietan is much more discreet, 'And it hence appears that in the primitive Church they had not instituted the solemn obsequies of martyrs, for they did not consecrate the martyrdom of Stephen, but made a great wailing for him and attended to his body after the Hebrew fashion:' but neither has he any authority for that remark, 'attended to his body after the Hebrew fashion,' according to which some endeavour to bring back all the rites of burial which the Jews used in funeral solemnities; for it merely rests upon the version of the old Latin interpreter, who translated by 'attended to' the original word that has no meaning beyond 'together carried.'

Caiet. Comm.
on Acts viii.
2

X. Now on that day a grievous persecution arose, for there was one by name Saul, of the synagogue of the Cilicians (who were disputing with Stephen, and dragged him before the San-

56 *Persecution of the Church: the Apostles.*

LECT. IV. hedrim), a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, by sect a Pharisee, a disciple of Gamaliel, a young man¹ at whose feet the witnesses that were about to stone Stephen laid their clothes; and he was consenting to the death of the martyr. But while he was exceeding mad, and thought that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth, he persecuted beyond measure, and *made havock of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison.* And as he him-
Acts viii. 3. self confessed before Festus and Agrippa, *many of the saints did he shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them.* And so severely did the persecution press upon the Church which was at Jerusalem, that all were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria, except the Apostles.
Acts xxvi. 10.

XI. To some it may perhaps appear singular that all the disciples, while the persecution was raging, were scattered abroad, but that the Apostles, and they alone, remained at Jerusalem. Though in the context no reason is assigned for this fact, this one seems capable of being ad-duced from history: Apollonius, an author of the second century, who wrote against the heresy

In Euseb.
Ecc. Hist.
v. 18.

¹ Compare Gal. i. 14, in the margin, where the correct meaning of the text is given.

of Montanus, stated in that work that it was a LECT. IV.
command given to the Apostles: 'He says, moreover, as receiving it from tradition, that our Saviour enjoined his Apostles not to depart for twelve years from Jerusalem.' The same tradition was contained in 'Peter's preaching,' a book, apocryphal indeed, but very ancient: for out of it Clement of Alexandria relates that the Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 5.
Lord said to the Apostles¹, 'If any one therefore of Israel repent, and through my name be willing to believe in God, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years go ye out into the world, lest any say, We have not heard.' This passage presents a difficulty in the editions, owing to a bad punctuation which obscures the sense. But now if this be true, if Christ did give a command to the Apostles that for twelve years they should abide at Jerusalem, it will not seem strange that when the disciples withdrew themselves through fear of a very severe prosecution, all the Apostles should remain at Jerusalem, mindful of his command, and in confident reliance upon the Divine protection.

¹ In Potter's Edition of Clement this passage is punctuated so as to give the sense: 'If any one therefore of Israel repent, and through my name be willing to believe in God, his sins shall be forgiven him after twelve years. Go ye out into the world, lest any say, We have not heard.'—Potter gives, however, a note of Græbuis, in which the punctuation adopted by Pearson is proposed.

LECT. IV.

XII. Much has been invented and ascribed to this dispersion in later times, when almost every Church has been trying to make out its own antiquity; all of which is either plainly false, or so uncertain that it deserves no place whatever in ecclesiastical history. That which is certain I will state.

Acts ix. 10,
and xxii. 12.

Acts xi. 19.

Rom. xvi. 7.

XIII. Those who were now dispersed, preaching the Word of God, travelled not only through the regions of Judæa and Samaria nigh to Jerusalem but even to Damascus, the metropolis of Syria; and among them was Ananias, a disciple, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there. Others travelled as far as Phœnice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, when they were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen. It is credible also that some of the disciples went then to Rome, and among them Andronicus and Junia, Saul's kinsmen, who were of note among the Apostles, of whom S. Paul testifies that they 'were in Christ before him.' And this constitutes almost all which is known by us of that dispersion.

XIV. The place¹ has now come for us to consider what is handed down about the result of Pilate's reference to Tiberius.

Chron.
Euseb.
A.D. 37.

Eusebius states, in his Chronicle, that, when

¹ See Lect. III. § IV.

Pilate referred to Tiberius concerning the doctrine of the Christians, Tiberius proposed to the Senate that Christ should be received amongst other divinities. S. Chrysostom says, 'The Roman Senate had the right of electing and enrolling the gods; when then all the circumstances about Christ were reported to the Ruler of that nation, he sent to enquire if it was their pleasure to appoint Him also a god.' Orosius, Cedrenus, Gregory of Tours, and Nicephorus, afterwards stated the same thing. Now the chief matter for enquiry is, who was the first author of this tradition? which has been carefully noted by Eusebius.

LECT. IV.

Chrys. 2 Cor.
Hom. xxvi.

Orosius, vii.
4.
Cedren. Tom.
i. p. 330, 336.
Bekker's
Edition.
Greg. Hist.
Franc. i. 20.
Niceph. Ecc.
Hist. ii. 8.
Euseb. ii. 2.

The first then to teach us this was Tertullian, one thoroughly versed in Roman affairs, whose words are as follow: 'Therefore Tiberius, in whose time the Christian name came into the world, with the recommendation of his own opinion brought before the Senate that which had been reported to him from Syria Palestina, and which had there proved the truth of Christ's divinity. The Senate, because he had not approved of his own deification¹, threw the pro-

Tert. Apol.
c. v.

¹ In the Bishop of Lincoln's Lectures on Tertullian, p. 110, Ed. 1826, the following occurs in a note upon this passage: 'Pearson would read, "quia non in se probaverat," and interpret the sentence thus: *The Senate rejected the proposal, because Tiberius had not approved a similar proposal in his own case—had himself refused to be deified.* Lardner contends

LECT. IV. posal out.' These facts have been generally received as true upon the authority of Tertullian, but Tanaquil Faber rejects them, and for the most trivial reasons impugns the authority of so great a man.

Fab. Epist.
ii. 12.

For, in the first place, he asks, whence did Tertullian get it? and answers, that he drew it from those Acts of Pilate of which the ancients make very frequent mention. Nothing can be more absurd. The Acts of Pilate only contain an account of what was done in Palestine; Tertullian relates what was done by Tiberius and the Senate in Rome: he could not therefore extract it from the Acts of Pilate compiled in Judæa. But there were journals of the Acts of the Senate, from which, though it cannot be proved that Tertullian may have derived this, so neither can it be denied.

In the second place, he (Faber) does not think that Tiberius¹, one very little given to religion, would have cared so much about Christ that he should recommend his deification to the Senate; but this objection is altogether resolved that this must be the meaning, even if *ipse* is retained. But a sentence which precedes "*vetus erat decretum, ne qui Deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus,*" shews that *ipse* refers to *Senatus*, the Senate refused because it had not itself approved the proposal; and so the passage was translated in the Greek Version used by Eusebius.'

¹ In support of this objection Faber also quotes Suetonius, (Tib. § 69.)

by reference to Suetonius, who says that in the LECT. IV.
reign of Tiberius there was no matter, whether Suet. Tib.
§ 30, 31.
of private or public interest, so small or so great
that it was not brought before the conscript
fathers.

In the third place, 'Hem! the Senate threw
a proposal out which pleased Tiberius!' One
who thus rejects this testimony understands nei-
ther Tiberius, nor the Senate, nor Tertullian. It
was the disposition of Tiberius to keep the
Senate in the dark as to his own wishes when
he referred a question to it, even though he
gave his vote. 'He did not even complain,'
says Suetonius, 'if some things were decreed
quite contrary to his own opinion.' 'The Senate,'
says Tertullian, 'because he had not approved of
his own deification, threw the proposal out.' Here
the best reason is given for the fact. The Senate
had before proposed to deify Tiberius, which
honor, when it was offered to himself, he refused.
He would not allow that temples, flamens, or Suet. Tib.
§ 36.
priests should be decreed to himself, nor even
that statues and images of himself should be set
up without his permission; moreover, he only
allowed it at all on the condition that they should
not be placed among the representations of the
gods, but among the ornaments of the temples.
Because then Tiberius had not approved of his
own deification, but had rejected it when offered,

62 *Faber's Objections to Tertullian's Account.*

LECT. IV. the Senate thought their safest course was to introduce no other person among their gods, lest they should seem to make him greater than Tiberius.

Fourthly, he denies that so complete a report of Christ could be carried to the court, during the lifetime of Tiberius, because the name Christian first came into use afterwards at Antioch. But we are not here concerned with the name of the disciples of Christ, but with Christ himself, whose works, death, resurrection, and ascension, could both be known and believed by Pilate, and through his agency come under the cognizance of Tiberius. Pilate, moreover, could not so far neglect the duty of his office, that he should omit to impart to the Emperor the intelligence of so great a matter having occurred in his province.

Lastly, since Faber could in no way make the matter itself incredible, he attempts to take away the authority of Tertullian himself; and says, that he was not always a careful investigator in selecting the authors whom he used, being himself, in the meantime, a most careless investigator of Tertullian; for he transcribes a long passage from the third book against Marcion, and thinks that he has discovered there (the alleged testimony of) certain heathen writers; where no heathen writer is mentioned or sug-

Tert. adv.
Marc. III. 24.
Nunc et con-
fitemur... deo
prospectam.

gested, but only a recent report brought into LECT. IV.
Africa by the soldiers who had just lately been
engaged in an expedition in the East.

XV. There is, therefore, nothing which can
be refuted in this story; and, since Tertullian
was an author so weighty, so ancient, so well
acquainted with Roman affairs, it is much safer
to hold that Tiberius did thus make a proposal
to the Senate concerning the deification of
Christ. But God did not suffer that the divinity
of His Son should be sanctioned by a decree of
the Senate; for, as Eusebius says, 'the saving Euseb. Ec.
Hist. II. 2.
doctrine of the divine Gospel wanted not confir-
mation and recommendation from men.' 'And
this,' says Chrysostom, 'was arranged even Chrys. 2 Cor.
Hom. XXVI.
against their will, so that the Godhead of Christ
might not be proclaimed by the votes of men, nor
He be regarded as one of the many gods that
were elected by them.'

LECTURE V.

ACTS VIII. 5 TO IX. 2.

LECT. V. I. AMONG those who came to Samaria was Philip, one of the seven deacons, and also an evangelist, (Acts xxi. 8.) He went down into the city of Samaria, and preached Christ there. And the people gave heed unto the things which he preached. Also, for the confirmation of his doctrine he did many miracles; *for unclean spirits, crying with loud voice, came out of many that were possessed with them, and many taken with palsies, and that were lame, were healed; and there was great joy in that city. . . . And many were baptized, both men and women.*

II. But there was a certain man among them called Simon especially worthy of note, whom Justin Martyr, himself also by birth a Samaritan, calls 'a certain Simon, a Samaritan, from a village called Gittha.' But Gitta, according to Stephanus, was a city of Palestine. Epiphanius says, 'He came from Gittha, a city of Samaria, but now a village:' as it also was in the time of Justin. Now, before Philip came to Samaria, Simon had been practising magic arts in that city, and

Just. I. Ap.
§ 26.

Epiphan.
Lib. I. Tom. 2.
begin.

astonishing the people of Samaria, saying that LECT. V.
he was some great person: so that all gave heed unto him, and said, 'This man is the great power of God.' But seeing that by the doctrine and miracles of Philip the Samaritans were converted to the faith, then Simon also himself believed; and when he had been baptized continued with Philip. And beholding that great signs and miracles were done he looked on with wonder; so that he who had before by his own wicked arts made the people of Samaria to wonder, being overcome by the discourses and miracles of Philip, was now himself seized with an equal wonderment.

III. While these things were going on in the city of Samaria, which was distant one day's journey from Jerusalem, the Apostles, who were at Jerusalem, forthwith heard that Samaria had received the word of God. The Apostles, therefore, to whom the charge of, and chief authority in, the Church was committed by Christ, chose two of their body, Peter and John, and sent them to the Samaritans.

IV. And these, when they had come to the Samaritans and perceived that the Holy Ghost was not yet come upon them, inasmuch as they only were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost; and, after they had prayed,

66 *Philip not able to confer the Holy Ghost.*

LECT. V. they laid hands upon them; whereupon they received that Holy Ghost for which these Apostles had prayed. Two Apostles presented themselves to the baptized Samaritans; they first prayed, and then laid hands upon them; but, while they were praying and laying on their hands, God shed the Holy Ghost on the baptized persons.

V. And it has here been observed by the ancients that the deacon and evangelist Philip, although he did many miracles, could not confer the Holy Ghost, or for that end lay hands on those that had been baptized; that the Apostles alone were able, or rather authorized, to administer in that matter. Chrysostom remarks on the passage to that effect. Epiphanius says, 'Philip, being a deacon, had not the power of laying on of hands thereby to confer the Holy Ghost.' Whence, also, they collected that this office afterwards in the Church belonged only to the bishops, the successors of the Apostles.

Chrys. Acta.
Hom. XVIII.
Epiphanius.
Lib. I. Tom. 2.
Hæc. 21.

Cypr. Ep. 73.

S. Cyprian writes concerning these Samaritans, 'And therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained lawful and ecclesiastical baptism, it was not necessary that they should be further baptized; but that, which only was wanting, was done by Peter and John; viz. that with prayer and laying on of hands the Holy Ghost should be invoked and shed upon them: which is also

now the practice with us; those who are baptized LECT. V.
in the Church are presented to us that are set
over the Church, and through our prayer and
the laying on of our hands they obtain the Holy
Ghost, and receive completely the Lord's seal.'
The same Cyprian writes, 'One is not born when Cyp. Ep. 74.
by the laying on of hands he receives the Holy
Spirit; but he is born in baptism, that, being
born, he may be in a state to receive the Spirit.'
Ursinus¹, or some other African writer after the
times of Cyprian, in a treatise on the 'Baptism
of Heretics,' writes, 'For when the Holy Ghost
is given to any believer through the laying on of
the hand of the bishop; after the manner of the
Apostles with regard to the Samaritans, who
followed up Philip's baptism by laying hands on
it², and thus conferred on them the Holy Spirit;
and, in order to this being done, themselves
prayed for them,' &c. S. Jerome writes, 'Are Jerome adv.
Lucifer. c. 8.
you not aware that it is the custom of the
churches that hands should afterwards be laid
on those who have been baptized, and the Holy

¹ This tract, opposing Cyprian's view on the Baptism of Heretics, was found at Rheims, in a very old MS. of Cyprian, appended to Ep. 74, and was first printed by Rigalt in his *Observations on that Epistle*, Ed. 1648. Ursinus was a monk, who, according to Gennadius, wrote on that side of the question, near the end of the fifth century.

² The reading 'ei' has been changed to 'eis' in the editions of Pearson; I am at a loss to conjecture the reason.

LECT. V. Spirit be thus invoked? Do you ask, Where is this written? In the Acts of the Apostles.¹

Aug. de Trin.
xv. 26.

S. Augustine writes, 'They prayed truly that the Holy Ghost might come on those on whom they laid their hands; they did not give Him. And the Church still maintains the same in the practice of her chief officers.'

VI. Hence, without doubt, originated the rite of Confirmation which is retained in our Church, and, against the will of the Presbyterians, is reserved for the function of the bishops alone; inasmuch as always, and everywhere, bishops only were, by ancient right, competent to discharge it. And this can easily be proved, if only it be observed that immediately after the times of the Apostles the chrism¹ was used at Confirmation, or at the same time as the laying on of hands; whence this rite of Confirmation is sometimes indicated under the name of 'Chrism,' and sometimes under that of 'Laying on of hands.' Hence the Greeks², more addicted to the use of the chrism (of which with regard to this subject we read nothing in Scripture), neglected by degrees the imposition of hands; but they reserved for the archbishops or patriarch the composition

¹ See Suicer on the word *χρίσμα*.

² See Goar's Euchologion, pp. 354, 628, with reference to the composition and use of the Chrism in the Greek Church: also King's Greek Church in Russia.

of the chrism, still permitting the use of it when made both to bishops and presbyters: but the Latins¹, in the first instance, allowed presbyters to sign or anoint the forehead in baptism, reserving for the bishops alone the laying on of hands.

LECT. V.

VII. It would be too tedious to commence an exact discussion of these matters; only it is worth observing that the origin of Confirmation is derived from the laying on of hands; that the Church was divided on the use of the chrism afterwards introduced; that all churches gave to the bishop the chief part in this matter; that the Church of England gives the power of confirming to bishops alone, and uses only the laying on of hands in Confirmation.

VIII. When the twentieth year of Tiberius was now expiring, L. Vitellius and Fabius Priscus, the consuls, celebrated the decennial games, as if they would at that time extend to him, as had been done to Augustus, the term of his supremacy. The twentieth year, therefore, of Tibe-

Dio. Lib.
LVIII. p. 636.

¹ Mr Churton refers to the Epistles of Gregory the Great, Lib. III. Ep. 26: 'I have been informed that some are offended because I have prohibited the presbyters from anointing on the forehead those who have been baptized: I have only acted indeed according to the ancient practice of our Church; but, if any are at all aggrieved on this account, I grant that, where there are no bishops, the presbyters also may anoint the baptized upon the forehead.'

LECT. V.Dio, Lib.
LIV. p. 529.Lib. LV. p.
551.

rius finished, and the twenty-first began under these consuls; for, as Dio says concerning Augustus, 'He had at first, indeed, five more years added to his term of command when the period of ten years was expiring.' And, 'However, after these things he (Augustus) unwillingly undertook again the command of the Empire, although he had resigned it, since, as he said, the second period of ten years was expired.' Inasmuch then as these consuls¹ were punished by Tiberius immediately that the games were concluded, this is a most indubitable mark of the year of their consulship.

IX. Now when Simon the Samaritan, who had been baptized, and continued with Philip, saw that through laying on of the hands of the Apostles the Holy Ghost was given, and that it was attended by marvellous effects which were not seen in the disciples of Philip, he offered the Apostles money; not that he might receive the Holy Ghost from them, but that they should give him the power that, on whomsoever he should lay hands, they might receive the Holy Ghost.

S. Peter not only rejected the money, but also declared that Simon had neither part nor lot in that matter; still he exhorted him to

¹ Dio says, 'They celebrated in truth the decennial games, and suffered punishment at the same time.'

repent that he might obtain forgiveness. Simon LECT. V. asks the Apostles to pray to the Lord for him; but what more the Apostles or Simon did is not explained in the Acts. It is plain, however, that this Simon was expelled by the Apostles from the Church, and became the author of the first and worst heresy: returning to the magic arts, in which he before excelled, and being but slightly imbued with Christian doctrine, he palmed off himself instead of Christ, and was the leader of all heretics. He prevailed so much by magic arts, and so blinded men's eyes by the novelty of his doctrine, that he drew off very many from the Christian faith to his own tenets; for Justin Martyr, himself a Samaritan, a hundred years afterwards testifies thus, 'And almost Just. 1. Ap. c. 26. all the Samaritans, and a few of other nations, confess him to be the chief God, and worship him.' Still he was 'the leader of all heresy,' Euseb. Ecc. Hist. 11. 13. so 'that nothing could be, or be devised, so impure but that their most foul heresy considerably surpassed it.' Concerning this heresy which first polluted the apostolic and then succeeding times, we shall often have to speak more distinctly and copiously as occasion shall offer.

In the mean while, Peter and John, having expelled Simon, and confirmed the disciples of the city of Samaria, passed through the rest of

LECT. V. the towns and villages of the Samaritans, and preached the Gospel.

X. But Philip, after the return of the Apostles, still remaining at Samaria, the angel of the Lord thus addressed him: *Arise, and go towards the south, unto the way which goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert.* This extraordinary direction of the angel does not reveal for what end he should undertake the journey, neither does it name the place to which he should go, but only the way, which was one of considerable length. It mentions indeed the city to which that way led, viz. 'Gaza, which is desert,' and significantly so called, for shortly before these events Strabo also had called it deserted: 'Then the harbour of the Gazæans is near, and the city lies seven stadia higher up, which formerly was a city of note, but was pulled down by Alexander, and remains deserted.' It had been a very flourishing city, but was first laid waste by Alexander the Great, and then again by Alexander Jannæus, and was called deserted. Whence Jerome writes, 'But it is asked, how in one of the prophets is it said, "Gaza shall be for a mound for ever?" which is resolved thus:

Strab. xvi. 30.

Joseph. Ant.
xiii. 13. 3.

Jerom.¹ de
Loc. Heb.
(Gaza).

¹ See Jerome's Works, Ed. Verona, 1735, Vol. III. p. 218: where the words of Eusebius also are given. The passage of the prophet is probably Zeph. ii. 3, 'For Gaza shall be forsaken.'

the situation of the ancient city has scarcely any LECT. V. traces of the foundations, but the city which is now seen is built in another situation in the room of that which is in ruins.' Jerome writes thus on his own authority, and not out of Eusebius, for Eusebius had said, 'it remains still a city of note in Palestine.'

XI. But in the way that leads from Jerusalem to Gaza, *Behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of authority under Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, who had the charge of all her treasure; 'for women ruled formerly,'* as Chrysostom observes; and before him Eusebius says, 'According to the custom of the country the nation being still governed by a woman:' and the Queens in Ethiopia were for the most part called by this name. Pliny writes concerning Meroe, 'that Chyrs. Acta. Hom. xix. Euseb. ii. 1. a woman by name Candace reigns, that name having already passed on to the Queens for many years;' and Strabo 23 years before the Christian era, 57 before this coming of the eunuch, writes, 'And of these likewise were the captains of the Queen Candace, who being a masculine woman ruled the Ethiopians down to our time.' He states moreover that Napata was the seat of Candace's kingdom. Dio¹ calls it Tanape. But Napata, on Plin. H. N. vi. 35. Strab. xvii. 54. Dio, liv. 5. the authority of Stephanus, was a city of Libya near Ethiopia, which the spies of Nero repre-

¹ Not 'Tapane,' as the editions of Pearson have it.

LECT. V.

Comp. Plin.
Hist. Nat.
vi. 35.

sented to be 360 miles distant from Meroe, as Pliny testifies. This therefore can hardly be the Candace who made a treaty of peace with Augustus, but was assuredly a Queen of Ethiopia which was close by to her kingdom; of Ethiopia, that is, which bordered upon Egypt. In Meroe, therefore, of Ethiopia bordering upon Egypt, there reigned Candace, over whose treasure a certain Ethiopian eunuch was placed, who for his religion's sake had come, according to custom, to Jerusalem. And returning from that city he was going to Gaza, that thence he might reach Egypt and so Meroe.

XII. Philip met him while he was in his chariot reading Isaiah, and expounded the passage concerning the Lamb that was slain, and preached unto him Jesus: he then baptized him, as he professed his belief that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. On which Jerome exclaims, 'O wonderful virtue of the teacher; in the same hour the eunuch believes and is baptized; becomes faithful and is sanctified; from a disciple a master; and finds more of the Church in the desert-spring than in the gilded temple of the synagogue.' They state that the fountain in which he was baptized was near Bethsoron; so at least Eusebius, 'And there is now a village Bethsoron in the road from Ælia to Chebron, at the twentieth distance-mark, where a spring

Jerome, Ep.
103.

Jerome de
Loc. Heb.
(Bethsaur).
Ed. Veron.
1735. Vol. III.
p. 176.

also is shewn coming out of the mountain, in which the eunuch of Candace is said to have been baptized by Philip;’ which S. Jerome thus interprets: ‘And there is at this day a village, Bethsoron, in the road from Ælia to Chebron, at the twentieth milestone, near which a spring issuing at the base of the mountain is absorbed by the same ground in which it rises; and in this the Acts of the Apostles relate that the eunuch of Candace was baptized by Philip:’ where two things are to be remarked; that Jerome in the first place added, ‘that it is absorbed by the same ground in which it rises,’ which he might add of his own knowledge; secondly, ‘that the Acts of the Apostles relate the circumstance;’ which neither Eusebius said, nor the Acts substantiate. And thus the eunuch, now become a disciple of Christ, went on his way rejoicing, i.e. set out for Ethiopia, imbued with the religion of Christ, and exulting greatly.

XIII. And some indeed of the ancients have related that he went forth not only a disciple, but a teacher and an apostle, and so preached the Gospel throughout the whole of Ethiopia:—In the first instance Irenæus, cautiously as his manner is, ‘The eunuch believing and demanding to be at once baptized, said, “I believe that Jesus is the Son of God.” And he was sent into the district of Ethiopia, about to

Iren. Adv.
Her. iii. 8.

LECT. V. preach what he had himself believed.' Eusebius
 Euseb. Eccl. Hist. II. 1. also says of him, 'It is said that he, returning to his father-land, first preached there the knowledge of God, and the life-giving Incarnation of our Saviour.' S. Jerome writes, 'The eunuch was sent as an apostle to the nations of the Ethiopians.' But what the eunuch preached to the Ethiopians is not at all known, for no traces of the Christian religion were discoverable in Ethiopia at the end of three centuries.

Jerome on Is. lili. 11.

Rufin. I. 9.

XIV. When the eunuch came up out of the water the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, and he was found at Azotus; whence passing through he preached in all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea.

XV. In the meantime Saul also had heard that certain at Damascus were converted to the
 Acts ix. 1, 2. faith, amongst whom was Ananias. *And yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, he went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound. I say of this way in the language of an old interpreter; as Beza, 'of this sect:' but in the Greek it is only 'of the way.' For those who believed in Christ, before they were called Christians at Antioch, were described by various names, as at one time 'the believers,' at another*

'the disciples;' so also sometimes 'those of the way:' for they called the doctrine of Christ 'the way of the Lord;' as Acts xviii. 26, 'expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly;' and also simply 'the way;' as Acts xix. 9, 'But spake evil of that [the] way before the multitude;' and 23, 'there arose no small stir about that [the] way:' lastly, S. Paul thus expresses himself, Acts xxii. 4, 'I persecuted this way unto the death.'

XVI. But when Saul, armed with this authority, was going to Damascus, suddenly he was dazzled by a light from heaven shining round about him, and was directed by an audible voice to go unto Damascus; and when he was blinded by the brightness of the light that had shone around him, his companions led him by the hand to Damascus, and he remained there for three days blind and fasting; but then Ananias, who had been sent unto him by the Lord, restored his sight on the spot, and baptized him. Thus from a persecutor he became an Apostle, that is, a witness among all men of the things which he saw and heard. For it is the peculiar character of the apostolic office that as eye- and ear-witnesses, they should give testimony concerning Christ of those things which they had themselves seen and heard.

LECT. V.

Lu. xxiv. 48.
Acts i. 21, 32.
1 Joh. i. 1.
2 Pet. i. 16.
Gal. i. 16, 17.

XVII. We are told in the Acts very little of

LECT. V.

what was revealed by the Lord to Saul at Damascus, now that he was converted; but it partly appears from what he himself, in the Epistle to the Galatians, treating of his apostleship, testifies that he did immediately after his conversion. For without doubt he did that which he was then enjoined by the Lord to do, viz. not to confer with flesh and blood, that is, with any man, neither to return to Jerusalem to those who were Apostles before himself, but to go to Arabia, where he should receive a knowledge of the Gospel, not by man's teaching, but by revelation from Jesus Christ.

Gal. I. 12.

XVIII. Therefore Saul retired for a short time to Arabia, that is to say, to those parts near Damascus, which were called the Desert of Arabia.

ANNALS OF S. PAUL.

IN the course of this year of our Lord, which A.D. XXXIV.
TIB. 20
(from Aug.
19.) 21. became the twenty-first of Tiberius, a severe persecution was commenced at Jerusalem by the High Priest and Sanhedrim, in which S. Stephen, the first of the seven deacons, was stoned; and when his blood was being shed, Saul, still a youth, Acts vii. 58. was standing by and consenting. But Philip, Acts xxii. 20. the second of the seven deacons, went away into Samaria, and the common tables of the disciples were broken up, and many of the disciples went from Jerusalem and left Judæa.

Towards the end of the preceding year, and A.D. XXXV.
TIB. 21. at the beginning of this, the persecution increases in severity, and Saul, receiving authority from the Sanhedrim, vexed the Church above measure, and wasted it, punishing the believers oft in the synagogues, binding many of the saints, and thrusting them into prison; and, when they were put to death, giving his vote against them: so that he rightly confesses that he was then *a blasphemer, and persecutor, and injurious*. When, 1 Tim. i. 13. now, all the believers, except the Apostles, had TIB. 22. left Jerusalem, and were dispersed, and preached the word through divers cities and provinces, *Saul, being the more mad against them, persecuted* Acts xxvi. 11.

A.D. XXXV
Acts ix. 1, 2.

them even unto strange cities. And yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, he desired of the High Priest letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that, if he found any of this way, whether men or women, he might bring

Acts ix. 14.

them bound unto Jerusalem.... And having authority to bind all that called on the name of Christ.

Gal. i. 16, 17.

But as he was drawing nigh to Damascus Jesus himself appeared to him, and miraculously converted him to the faith; and when he had reached Damascus he was baptized by Ananias, a disciple by a disciple. But he did not immediately *confer with flesh and blood*; he did not learn the word of God from Ananias, or from any other disciple at Damascus, *neither did he go up to Jerusalem to those which were Apostles before him*; but he went into Arabia, where none had preached the word of God.

A.D. XXXVI
TIB. 22.

Saul remains in Arabia, where, by a full revelation from God, he received his knowledge of that Gospel for the preaching of which he was forthwith called.

TIB. 23.
Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 5, 1.

In the mean time, the army of Herod the tetrarch, having been routed by Aretas, king of Arabia, was entirely cut off, and destroyed.

2 Cor. xi. 32.

The ethnarch of Aretas keeps Damascus with a garrison.

A.D. XXXVI.
TIB. 23.
Acts ix. 19, 20.

Saul returns from Arabia to Damascus, fully instructed in his duty by revelation, and *was*

certain days with the disciples; and straightway A.D. XXXVII.
preached Jesus in the synagogues. Meanwhile all CAL. 1.
who heard him were amazed, but he himself (from Mar. 16.)
increased the more in strength, and confounded the
Jews.

And about the end of this year, *when many* Acts ix. 23.
days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill
him; for they had not then the authority in
Damascus which they had when Paul first came
there. Accordingly, they could but lay in wait
for him, and this laying await became known of
Saul; whence they were driven to ask the Ara-
bian ethnarch that he would kill him for their
sake; and he was therefore desirous to appre- 2 Cor. xi. 32.
hend him.

The Jews, therefore, watch the gates of the A.D. XXXVIII.
city, that they might deliver up Saul to the CAL. 1.
ethnarch to be put to death. But *the disciples* Acts ix. 25.
took him by night, and let him down by the wall in 2 Cor. xi. 33.
a basket. CAL. 2.

Saul, escaping thus from Damascus, *after* Gal. i. 18.
three years went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, who
had already returned thither with John, after
they had confirmed the believers that were bap-
tized by Philip, and on their way had preached Acts viii. 25.
the Gospel in many villages of the Samaritans.
This period of three years can only be dated
from the Conversion of Saul, as is plain from the
Apostle's argument throughout the Epistle to

A.D. XXXVIII. the Galatians, and from the context itself, Gal. i. 11—18.

Acts ix. 26. About the end of the year, *when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples, but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple, until Barnabas brought him to the Apostles (viz. Peter and James), and he abode with Peter fifteen days. And when Saul now spake boldly, and disputed with the Grecians, they went about to slay him, which, when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.*

Acts ix. 31, 32.

There was then rest in the churches throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and S. Peter *passed throughout all*, i.e. all the believers in Judæa, Galilee and Samaria.

A.D. XXXIX.
CAL. $\frac{3}{4}$.
Gal. i. 22, 23. In this year Saul arrived at Tarsus, and, *being unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa, preached in Cilicia the faith which once he destroyed.* His remark, that when he was in Cilicia and Syria he was unknown to the churches in Judæa, was made that the Galatians should not think he had received the doctrine of the Gospel from any disciple of Christ.

A.D. XL.
CAL. $\frac{3}{4}$. Saul preaches in Syria, and still went not to Antioch, forasmuch as there were several disciples there, and he would not learn ought of them.

After that Peter had baptized Cornelius, and had remained in Cæsarea certain days, he went up

to Jerusalem; and when he was come thither, *they* A.D. XL.
Acts xi. 2.
that were of the circumcision contended with him.
 But when he had explained fully the circumstances of Cornelius' baptism, *they held their peace, and glorified God.*

Saul still preaches in Syria.

A.D. XLI.
CAL. 4.

The door of faith having now been opened to the Gentiles, certain Cyprians and Cyrenians CLAUD. 1.
(from Jan. 24.)
 preached Christ to the Grecians at Antioch; and a great number of them were converted to the Lord. *Tidings also came unto the ears of the Church which was in Jerusalem of the great number of the Grecians*¹, who, by means of certain men of Cyprus and Cyrene, *were turned unto the Lord.*

Acts xi. 21,
22.

They therefore sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch.

Saul, after suffering much for three years in A.D. XLIII.
CLAUD. 2.
 Syria and Cilicia, returns to Tarsus.

* Barnabas, when *he came to Antioch, and had* Acts xi. 23, 24.
seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord, and by his means much people was added unto the Lord.

¹ The reading here is doubtful, whether *Grecians* or *Hellenists*. The best critics prefer the reading *Grecians*; but Pearson himself in the 'Lectures on the Acts,' Lect. iii. § 5, seems rather inconsistently to have declared for the reading *Hellenists*; for there is no other passage in which the *Hellenists* can be said to be opposed by S. Luke to Jews.

A.D. XLII.

Now, that so great a harvest was daily increasing, and he stood in need of a fellow-worker, Barnabas sought at Tarsus Saul (whom he had before introduced to the Apostles, and known to be approved by them, and had heard disputing with the Hellenists at Jerusalem), and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch, ver. 25.

A.D. XLIII.
CLAUD. 3.

Saul and Barnabas *assembled themselves a whole year with the Church at Antioch, and taught much people; and the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch*, ver. 27. *And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit of prophecy, (for there had arisen as yet no famine in the East) that there should be a great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass especially in Judæa, in the days of Claudius Cæsar,* ver. 28.

Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judæa, ver. 29. *

A.D. XLIV.
CLAUD. 4.
Acts xii. 1.

While the Church had still rest throughout Judæa, *Herod Agrippa stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church, and he killed James*, ver. 2. *And in the days of unleavened bread (about the beginning of April) he put Peter in prison*, vv. 3, 4. But Peter, when his prison had been miraculously thrown open, sought the house of Mary, where several disciples were assembled, and having declared to them how he had been set at liberty

by an angel and commanded them to tell the same to James and the brethren, he departed, &c. A.D. XLIV.

Concerning the year, in which Herod killed James and put Peter in prison, we must speak more explicitly; for several of the Pontifical Authors wish to make out that it happened A.D. XLI, that they may shew that Peter, when '*he departed and went into another place,*' made for Rome, &c. But in the first place, this is asserted in the face of Jewish history¹: and in the second, the assertion is also contrary to sacred history², Jos. Ant. xix. c. 4, 5. and 8. *he went into another place*, ver. 17; and Herod *went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and there abode*, ver. 19. Acts xii. 17.

After this short persecution had arisen at Jerusalem, the Christians at Antioch, according to *their purpose*, (Acts xi. 29) having made their collection, sent assistance to the elders who remained at Jerusalem *by the hands of Barnabas and Saul*; and very opportunely in truth, for the dearth, which was both severe and protracted, had already begun in Judæa.

For when Herod Agrippa was dead, Claudius Joseph. Antiq. xix. 9, 2.

¹ It is clear from Josephus that Agrippa had been living at Rome, and was not confirmed in his power in Judæa, until the accession of Claudius, and, when he had reigned three years, went to Cæsarea.

² It may be remarked that *Herod* is introduced in ver. 19, without sufficient reason, and that *Peter* is more probably intended. Compare the Greek text.

A.D. XLIV. sent into his kingdom, which was now reduced to a province, the procurator Cuspius Fadus; and he and his successor Tiberius Alexander administered the affairs of the province almost four years: and in their time Josephus states that there was a great famine in Judæa, to which, on the authority of Eusebius, the prophecy of Agabus referred.

Joseph. Antiq. xx. 5, 2.
Eus. Eccl. Hist. II. 8.

When Barnabas and Saul had delivered their aid into the hands of the elders at Jerusalem, no Apostle being then seen by them, (which is the reason that the Apostle does not speak of this visit in his Epistle to the Galatians) they returned to Antioch; *having taken with them John whose surname was Mark*, who seems to have gone with them, inasmuch as Peter was not at Jerusalem.

Acts xii. 25.

While the prophets and teachers at Antioch were ministering unto the Lord, they separated Saul and Barnabas *for the work whereunto the Holy Ghost called them*: and then, I think, was the time of Paul's being taken up into the third heaven, in the fourteenth year from which he wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Acts xiii. 2.

2 Cor. xii. 2.

Barnabas and Saul being sent forth by the Holy Ghost departed unto Seleucia, and sailing to Cyprus came to Salamis.

Acts xlii. 4, 5.

A.D. XLV.
CLAUD. 5.

When Saul and Barnabas *were at Salamis*,

they preached the word of God in the synagogues A.D. xiv.
of the Jews; and they had also John to their Acts xiii. 5.
minister. And when they had gone through the &c.
whole isle (preaching without doubt in the synagogues of the Jews, which were very frequent in Cyprus) even unto Paphos (and Cyprus is no inconsiderable island), and while they were preaching in the city of Paphos, which is distant from Salamis by nearly the whole length of the island, Sergius Paulus the proconsul of Cyprus desired to hear the word of God, and sent for them: and when Elymas withstood them, Saul (*who also is called Paul*) struck him with blindness; whereupon the proconsul was converted to the faith.

Afterwards Paul and his company sailed from Paphos and came to Perga, a city of Pamphylia. Here John deserts him, and returns to Jerusalem; for he had perhaps heard that now not only was Herod dead, but that Peter had come from his place of concealment, and was living openly in Jerusalem. Paul however and Barnabas set out from Pamphylia to Pisidia.

They preach for a long time in Pisidia, especially at Antioch, until the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region. A.D. xlv.
CLAUD. 6.
Acts xiii. 49.

Being driven from Pisidia they come to Lycaonia, where they enter Iconium, in which city they abode a long time, xiv. 3.

A.D. XLVL

Being driven from Iconium they fled unto Lystra and Derbe, and unto the region that lieth round about, xiv. 6, and there they preached the Gospel, ver. 7.

Being cast out of Lystra at the instigation of certain Jews of Antioch and Iconium, they enter Derbe, where they preached the Gospel, and made many disciples, ver. 21.

A.D. XLVII.
CLAUD. 7.Acts xiv. 22,
23.

From Derbe they returned again to Lystra and Iconium and Antioch of Pisidia, *confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith. And they ordained them elders in every Church.* Thence they pass through Pisidia and come to Pamphylia.

And after they had again preached at Perga, they go to Attalia, and sailing thence return to Antioch in Syria, where they give the Church an account of their journey.

A.D. XLVIII.
CLAUD. 8.

Acts xv. 1.

Paul and Barnabas abode long time with the disciples at Antioch, ver. 28.

But then certain which came down from Judæa taught the brethren, *Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.* Hence there arose a *dissension and questioning, or no small*, or rather a very long, disputation, between Paul, assisted by Barnabas, and those Judaizers.

And when they of Antioch were not able to resolve this question, they determined *that Paul*

and Barnabas and certain other of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and elders about it, ver. 2. A.D. XLVIII.

In the beginning of this year Cumanus came as Procurator¹ into the province of Judæa; and Felix into that of Samaria, if we may believe Tacitus²; but not with the supreme power, as is plain from the history of Josephus².

Tac. Ann.
xii. 54.
Jos. Ant. xx
6. 2, and
Jewish War,
II. 12. 6.

Paul and Barnabas, being brought on their way by the Church of Antioch through Syria, passed through Phœnice and Samaria, and among the Churches, that were established there, proclaimed the conversion of the Gentiles, which through their means had been brought about in Asia Minor. And they caused great joy unto the Christians of those Churches which were established in Phœnicia and throughout Samaria.

A.D. XLIX.
CLAUD. 9.

At length they come to Jerusalem, where they are received of the Church and of the Apostles and elders, and declared to the Apostles and elders all things that God had done with them, or how great a number, both of Jews and of

Acts xv. 4.

¹ On the office of Procurators in general, and of the Procurators of Judæa in particular, see Pearson on the Creed, fol. ed. p. 195.

² Tacitus, whose information on such a matter is not likely to have been so good as that of Josephus, states that while Cumanus was placed over Galilee, Felix was over Samaria; a division to which Josephus makes no allusion. Whiston suggests that Felix may have been a subordinate judge under Cumanus.

A.D. XLIX. Gentiles, were converted by their means in Cyprus and in Asia.

But there arose at Jerusalem also certain Christians, of the sect of the Pharisees, who taught that circumcision was necessary to salvation.

The Council of Jerusalem

Gal. ii. 1, 2. was assembled in the fourteenth year from the Conversion of S. Paul; for the Apostle mentions his coming there to the Galatians, and definitely states the exact time. Grotius wishes in this passage to write *four*, instead of *fourteen*; still he admits that it refers to his coming to the council. But it is plain from the very scope of chapters I. and II, that the Apostle refers the years which he there enumerates to the epoch of his Conversion.

Gal. i. 1. He calls himself an Apostle, not of men, neither by man; he teaches that his Gospel is not according to man; and that he had neither received it from man, nor been taught it, except by the revelation of Jesus Christ (vv. 11, 12). This he demonstrates to the Galatians from his conversation, which was not unknown to them; of which the first part was a most strict profession of the Jewish religion, according to the doctrine of the Pharisees, resulting in a very

zealous persecution of the Christians. Then, at length, he goes on to shew how God revealed His Son to him, and that he forthwith *conferred not with flesh and blood*, or conversed not with any man from whom he could learn the doctrine of the Gospel; nor came to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before him, from whom he could learn the mind of the Lord more fully, but *went into Arabia*, where he received the Gospel by revelation; and, returning to Damascus, preached the word of God there, and confounded the Jews: *Then, after three years, he returned*¹ (to wit from Damascus) *to Jerusalem to see Peter*. From all which it is quite clear that the Conversion of Paul should be regarded as the epoch of this three years.

The same is to be said of the epoch of the fourteen years; *Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem*; for the scope of the discourse is here the same, and the epoch from which the years date the same; for the word '*Then*' does not so join the words that follow with the sentence about the three years, as if the years were said to commence from the end of those three years, because another '*then*'² intervenes, where he is beginning to tell how he was engaged in Syria and Cilicia, but does not

¹ Marginal reading. Gr. ἀνῆλθεν.

² Gr. ἔπειτα. Eng. Ver. 'afterwards.'

A.D. XLIX. enumerate the number of years that he was in those parts.

No chronological connexion, therefore, can be thought of; the Apostle, pursuing the same aim, says, 'then' and 'again,' but neither does the 'then' refer to his stay in Syria and Cilicia, nor the 'again' to his second coming to Jerusalem; for he came for a second time to Jerusalem with the supply during the urgent famine, and in company with Barnabas, without Titus; but, as he then saw no Apostle, he omits all allusion to that coming, forasmuch as it had no reference to his present design.

Acts xv 30. After the decree of the Council, and their epistle, Paul and Barnabas, with Judas and Silas, who were persons of consideration, come to Antioch, and give up to the Church at Antioch the epistle they had received from the Apostles. Judas also, and Silas, being prophets, confirmed the brethren with many words: and Judas returned to Jerusalem, but Silas remained at Antioch.

Gal. ii. 11, 12. In the mean time Peter also came to Antioch, and for some time did eat with the Gentiles who were converted to the faith.

A.D. L.
CLAUD. 10. But, when certain came from James, Peter withdrew, and separated himself, for which cause Paul rebuked him.

I conceive that the rebuke took place at this

time, because Paul intimates that he was him-^{A.D. L.}self at Antioch when Peter came there; but Peter came to Antioch when Paul was there at no time before the Council of Jerusalem; and besides, the dissension¹ between Paul and Barnabas, who was Peter's most intimate friend, seems to have sprung out of this circumstance.

And Paul, taking with him Silas, who was present at the Council of Jerusalem, went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the brethren, and delivering to them the decrees that were^{Acts xv. 41; xvi. 4.} ordained of the Apostles.

Then he came to Derbe and Lystra, where he found a disciple (Timotheus), and circumcised him, and had him go forth with him, (xvi. 1—3).

He then goes throughout Phrygia and Ga-^{A.D. LI. CLAUD. 11.}latia, and comes by Mysia to Troas, where Luke insinuates that himself joined him as companion, (xvi. 10).

It may be collected from Acts xi. 28, where the Cambridge MS.² has 'While we were assembled together,' that Luke was before with

¹ Compare Gal. ii. 13, with Acts xv. 39.

² The Cambridge MS. or Codex Bezae, written probably in the South of France, in the 7th century, at Acts xi. 27, 28, between *Ἀντιόχειαν* and *εἰς* contains *ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη*, instead of *ἀναστὰς δὲ*. The corresponding Latin Version in the same MS. is 'Erant autem magna exultatio revertentibus autem nobis ait.' Augustine, quoted by Scholz, renders the words to which Pearson refers, 'congregatis autem nobis.'

A.D. LI. Paul at Antioch, and had now come up with him at Troas.

Therefore, for eight years, from the year XLIII., Luke had been a disciple at Antioch.

From Troas Paul passes to Macedonia.

He stays at Philippi.

And then, taking the route through Amphipolis and Apollonia, he comes to Thessalonica, where he preaches a long time.

**A.D. LII.
CLAUD. 12.**

Thence he is sent away to Berræa, where he stays some time.

**Oros. Hist.
VII. 6.**

In the meanwhile, the Jews, at the beginning of this year, were expelled from Rome by Claudius. Orosius only has made express mention of the expulsion of this year, in the following terms: 'In the ninth year of the same, viz. Claudius, Josephus relates that the Jews were expelled from the city by Claudius.' But this is plainly false, for Josephus relates nothing concerning the ninth year of Claudius, nay, nothing at all about the expulsion of the Jews at this time; neither has Tacitus at that year recorded any tumult of the Jews.

But Orosius names Josephus, that he may connect this history with that tumult, the account of which Eusebius quotes from Josephus. Ecc. Hist. II. 11.

Besides, Orosius is here guilty of a manifest prochronism, the cause of which is sufficiently

plain. For he had said, 'In the fifth year of Claudius an island appeared between Thera and Therasia,' which he had from the Chronicle of Eusebius; but it is clear¹ that this happened nearly at the end of the sixth year of Claudius.

Orosius goes on, 'In his seventh year, under Cumanus, procurator of Judæa, a sedition arose at Jerusalem in the days of unleavened bread:' he had this also from the Chronicle of Eusebius; but neither is this correct; for in the eleventh year of Claudius, not Cumanus, under whom he says the sedition took place, but Tiberius Alexander was procurator of Judæa, and Cumanus was not procurator before the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, who died in the eighth year of Claudius. Hence Cumanus could not be present as procurator at any passover before that in the ninth year of Claudius. But the sedition spoken of by Josephus did not take place in that year, but in the eleventh year of Claudius, at which time we know that Quadratus was president of Syria; and when the report of that sedition reached Rome, the Romans were quite unaffected by it, since the calamity concerned the Jews only; though indeed they were a good

A.D. LII.

Oros. as before.

Eus. Chron. A.D. 46.

Oros. as before.

Eus. Chron. A.D. 48.

Jos. Jew. War, II. 12. 1. —Antiq. xx. 5. 2.

Jos. Antiq. xx. 5. 3. Jew. War, II. 12. 1.

¹ Pearson probably writes thus on the authority of Dio. lx. 29; but according to Pliny H. N. II. 87, the island Thia, which he says appeared in his own time between Thera and Therasia, was first seen in the consulship of Junius Silanus and Lælius Balbus, which was in the sixth year of Tiberius.

A.D. LII.

Jos. Antiq.
xx. 5. 4.
Jew. War,
ii. 12. 2.

Tac. Ann.
xii. 54.

deal affected by what occurred soon afterwards; for in the same year, thieves having attacked Stephanus, a servant of Cæsar, stole all his baggage, and in the end Roman soldiers were slain; which affair not Josephus only, but Tacitus also, mentions: 'Cumanus and Felix, when the evil was increasing, interposed the arms of the military, and soldiers were killed; and the province had been embroiled in war, if Quadratus, the governor of Syria, had not come to their assistance.' Tacitus, besides, remarks that this tumult was the next after that which took place under Caius, and was therefore the first under Claudius.

Claudius, 'when the causes of this rebellion had been ascertained,' at the beginning of the twelfth year of his reign¹ expelled the Jews from Rome, at the same time, I imagine, that 'the savage and vain act of the Senate concerning the expulsion of the mathematicians from Italy was enacted.'

Tac. Ann.
xii. 52.

But the expulsion of the Jews from the city not being by act of the Senate, but by an edict of Claudius, Tacitus makes no direct allusion to it.

S. Paul was conducted from Beræa to Athens,

¹ Compare Suetonius' Life of Claudius, c. 25, and Dio Cassius lx. 6. The former states that Claudius 'expelled from Rome the Jews who, excited by Chrestus, were constantly raising tumults.' Dio, however, asserts that he did not actually expel them, but prohibited those, who used the Jewish law and mode of living, from congregating.

from which place, by and by, he sends Timothy¹ to visit the Thessalonians, and remains there some time.

A.D. M.
1 Thess. iii.
1, 2.

From Athens he came to Corinth, and found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla; because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome, and came unto them. 'Lately,' observe, because at the beginning of this very year the edict of Claudius appeared.

Acts xviii.
1, 2.

After the return of Timothy from Macedonia, Paul writes the former Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Acts xviii. 5.
1 Thess. iii.
1, 6.

At this time, as it seems probable, Paul had heard a great deal about the Christians at Rome, and henceforth desired very much to see Rome, often praying God that he should some time be sent thither.

Rom. i. 9, 13;
xv. 22, 23.

When now Cumanus had been condemned, Felix was again made procurator of Judæa by Claudius, and he administered the office in that province together with Samaria and Galilee, having now the power to punish with death.

A.D. LXXI.
CLAUD. 13.
Jos. Ant. xx.
7.
Jos. Ant. xx.
8, 5.
Jew. War, II.
13. 2.

At Corinth S. Paul is brought before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia. This Gallio was elder brother of Annæus Seneca; whence it can be

¹ Burton was of opinion that Timothy 'received a message' from S. Paul to go to Thessalonica; but see Paley, Hor. Paul. ix. 4, and Gresswell, Vol. II. Diss. I.

A.D. LIII. gathered that the present was the right time for him to be proconsul. The whole family of the Senecas was very much disliked by Claudius, because he had punished Annæus with a severe and protracted exile, from which he was at last set free in the ninth year of Claudius, when Pompeius and Veranius were consuls. Annæus is forthwith made a senator, and Domitius is put into his charge by Agrippina to be educated. In the tenth year of Claudius, Domitius is adopted into the Claudian family, and takes the name of Nero; Antistius and Suilius being consuls. Since Annæus had always observed that Gallio was very desirous of office, he took care that he should be substituted for one of the consuls¹ in the eleventh year, as it would seem, and accordingly should become proconsul towards the end of the twelfth year of Claudius, when Junius and Haterius were consuls; and proconsul too of Achaia. For I so understand Seneca: 'The sentence of my lord Gallio was in my mouth; who, when he begun to have a fever in Achaia, forthwith took ship, exclaiming that his disease was owing to his situation, not to his bodily condition.' For Seneca

Rom. I. 2, 13; xv. 22, 23.

Suet. Ner. 7.

Tac. Ann. xii. 26.

Senec. Ep. 104.

¹ That Gallio had discharged the consular office is clear from Plin. H. N. xxxi. 33: but the year of his consulship must be a matter of conjecture, as he is not mentioned in the Consular Fasti. On the character of Gallio, see Sen. Quæst. Nat. iv. Præf.

called his elder brother lord, inasmuch as he had A.D. LIII. been consul and proconsul.

S. Paul being dismissed by Gallio tarried at Corinth yet a good while, and writes there¹, while Claudius was still emperor, the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, a point to be noted, lest we should conclude as Jerome², that 'he Jerome. Ep. 151. Quest. 11. who now letteth' (2 Thess. ii. 7) is Nero.

In the beginning of this year, after preaching A.D. LIV. CLAUD. 14. for a year and half at Corinth, Paul sailed to Ephesus, and having left Aquila and Priscilla in that city, after a few days he set out from thence to Cæsarea, whence he went up and saluted the Church, and came down to Antioch. Acts xviii 22.

About this time Apollos came to Ephesus, and when he had been more perfectly instructed by Priscilla and Aquila, went from thence to Corinth. But Paul leaving Antioch passed through Galatia and Phrygia, and while Apollos was at Corinth came to Ephesus, where he bap-

¹ The second epistle 'being written apparently to correct a very important mistake produced by the first, must have been written in a short time after.' Gresswell, Vol. II. Diss. I.

² The comment of Jerome on this verse is, 'The coming of Antichrist is being produced by the many evils and sins with which Nero, the most abominable of the emperors, is afflicting the world; and what he is about "to work" hereafter is being partially accomplished in that person; "only" the Roman Empire, which "now letteth" (tenet) all nations, "until" that decline and "be taken out of the way; and then shall" Antichrist come, the source of iniquity.'

A.D. LIV. tized certain disciples. He then preached in the synagogue three months.

NERO I. The Emperor Claudius dying on the 13th of October, Nero succeeds.

A.D. LV. In the first year of his reign Claudius¹ Felix was instituted by Nero in the province, which he had obtained under Claudius; only some provinces, viz. Abila and Julias, Tarichæa and Tiberias, were withdrawn from it; Nero added these to the kingdom of Agrippa, and over the rest of Judæa he set Felix in charge. And Felix, who had consumed the time of his office, which had elapsed under Claudius, in wooing his wife Drusilla, a very beautiful woman, now diligently applies himself to the administration of his province; and in the first place sends prisoner to Rome Eleazar, a robber-chieftain, who for twenty years had troubled the province (from that time, I imagine, when Pilate routed the Samaritans who had broken out into open war, and after he had slain several put the rest to flight, A.D. 35); and he crucified a great number of robbers, and thus restored peace to the whole province. This was the first 'worthy deed' (Acts xxiv. 2) under Nero, as Josephus expressly states.

*Jos. Jew.
War, ii. 13. 2.
and Ant. xx.
8. 4. 5.*

¹ Suidas calls him Claudius Felix, but Tacitus gives him the name Antonius: perhaps, as Winer suggests, he, being a freedman of Claudius, was called sometimes after Claudius, and sometimes after the emperor's mother Antonia.

Paul disputes for two years in the school of Tyrannus. S. Peter comes to Corinth, as appears from the epistle of Clement, when Apollos was there.

A.D. LV.
NER. 2.
Acts xix. 9.
Clem. Rom.
1 Ep. 47.

From the time that the disturbances in the country were put down, there sprang up assassins in the city, against whom Felix took no steps; but he caused Jonathan, one of the high priests, who had too freely rebuked him, to be killed by them; and after his death many were killed in Jerusalem, especially on the feast-days, by these assassins.

A.D. LVI.
Jos. Jew.
War, 2. 13. 3.

Paul is disputing in the school of Tyrannus.

NER. 3.

Certain fanatic leaders, under the pretext of religion, brought people together in the wilderness, and promised that God would shew them prodigies in proof of their deliverance. Felix put these down, inasmuch as he thought they were in a manner seeds of rebellion.

A.D. LVII.
Jos. Ant. XX.
8. 6; and Jew.
War, II. 13. 4.

Paul stayed in Asia, whence he sent forward Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia.

Acts xix. 2.

Apollos¹ with other brethren came to Paul from Corinth, by whom the Corinthians sent him an epistle.

¹ Apollos, who had been teaching at Corinth (Acts xviii. 27. xix. 1. and 1 Cor. i. 12. iii. 5) when Paul came to Ephesus, had certainly returned to Ephesus before the answer was written (1 Cor. xvi. 12); and it is not improbable that he with Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. xvi. 17), brought the letter from the Corinthians (1 Cor. vii. 1).

A. D. LVII.

1 Cor. i. 1.

In answer to their epistle¹ Paul, with Sosthenes, writes the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

He writes the Epistle to the Galatians².

Acts xx. 1.

He is driven from Ephesus through the influence of Demetrius.

2 Cor. ii. 12,
13.

Leaving Asia, after he had laboured there for nearly three whole years, he came to Troas; thence he passes to Macedonia.

From Macedonia he writes the Second Epistle³

¹ That this Epistle was *written* at, if not sent from, Ephesus, seems clear from 1 Cor. xvi. 8, and 19.

² The subscription of the Epistle to the Galatians dates it from Rome, and the Epistle itself seems to contain no point contradicting that assertion; Gal. i. 2 (comp. Phil. iv. 21) favours it; but Gal. i. 6, would rather lead to the conclusion that the Epistle was written somewhat earlier, as Pearson here conjectures.

³ Some light is thrown on the dates of these Epistles by what is said of the Collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. Paul reminds the Galatians (Gal. ii. 10) that he had been *forward* in teaching them to *remember the poor*; and in answer to the Corinthians, who of their own accord seem to have proposed a collection among themselves (2 Cor. viii. 10, and ix. 1, 2), he gives the same rule for the manner of collecting that he had previously given to the Galatians (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2); this answer was written before Pentecost. A. D. 57 (1 Cor. xvi. 8). Paul, not long after, *departs* from Ephesus *for to go* by Troas *into Macedonia, and goes over those parts* (Acts xx. 1, 2). He now stirs up the Churches of Macedonia to contribute in like manner, quoting the forwardness of the Corinthians, who *a year before* had asked his direction in the matter, 2 Cor. ix. 2. These Churches respond cordially to his appeal, praying Paul to take part himself in the ministering of their gift (2 Cor. viii. 1—5). Paul, about to go from Macedonia to Corinth, writes his second Epistle to the Corinthians,

to the Corinthians; sets out from thence for Greece, and writes

From Corinth the Epistle to the Romans.

Felix put to the rout the Egyptian sorcerer with his adherents at the Mount of Olives.

A.D. LVIII.
Ner. 4.
Joa. xx. 8. 6.
Jew. War, II.
13. 6.

Paul returns from Greece to Macedonia; remains at Philippi during the feast of unleavened bread; and comes to Jerusalem after the Pentecost¹ in the month of June, with the Collection.

Here a tumult arose, and the tribune, having recued him from death, asks, *Art thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and*

and takes occasion to give advice that they should now perform that which a year before they were ready to do (2 Cor. viii. 10, 11). He proceeds on his way as far as Hellas, where he abides three months (Acts xx. 2, 3), and frustrated by the Jews in his intention to sail directly back to Syria, he returns by Macedonia, keeps the passover at Philippi, and desires to reach Jerusalem by the following Pentecost (Acts xx. 16): meanwhile he writes to the Romans (Rom. xv. 25, 26) that he is going unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. Finally, in Acts xxiv. 17, Paul states that after many years he came to bring alms to his nation and offerings. That the Epistle to the Romans was written from the neighbourhood of Corinth, may be inferred from ch. xvi. 1. 5, and 23, comparing 1 Cor. i. 14, and 2 Tim. iv. 20.

¹ S. Luke seems to mention the exact time of their stopping at several places in this journey, in order to account for their not fulfilling S. Paul's desire of reaching Jerusalem by Pentecost; and when at length they came to Cæsarea, seeing it was no longer possible to reach Jerusalem, they tarried there many days (Acts xxi. 10).

A. D. LVIII.
Acts xxi. 38. *leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers*; for that Egyptian, when his companions were routed, sought safety for himself by flight. Josephus says, 'But the Egyptian himself, running away from the battle, disappeared.'

Comp. Jos.
Ant. xx. 9. 2. Paul, being brought to the Sanhedrim, expostulated with Ananias¹ (the son of Nebedæus) who was still High Priest.

Acts xxiv. 10 He is accused at Cæsarea before Felix, and in his answer he says, *I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, and do the more cheerfully answer for myself*: these 'many years' were five and a half, from the time that he had been appointed by Claudius a judge over the Jewish nation; whence Tertullus recognises the long quietness under him, and the many 'worthy deeds' done to that nation, of which I have recounted several from Josephus.

Acts xxiv. 23. S. Paul is kept in confinement at Cæsarea.
Acts xxiv. 24. He is heard a second time, in the presence of Drusilla.

Jos. Jew.
War, II. 13. 6. Certain sorcerers and thieves exhort the Jews to struggle for liberty, and threaten death to those who obeyed the Roman Empire; a war which daily grew into importance.

¹ Ananias while high priest had been sent by Quadratus a prisoner to Rome. Jos. Ant. xx. 6. 2, and Jew. War, II. 12. 6.

Paul is kept in free ward at Cæsarea. Felix A.D. LIX.
NER. 5. hoped that money would be given him of Paul, *wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him.* Acts xxiv. 26.

While the sorcerers and seditious leaders are Jos. Ant. xx.
8. 7. urging on the people throughout the country Jew. War, II.
13. 7. against the Roman government, a grave quarrel arose at Cæsarea between the Syrians and Jews, which Felix endeavoured to put down by arms, and many of the combatants were slain by the soldiery; but, upon the intervention of the more noble Jews, he restrained the soldiers. Still, as A.D. LX.
NER. 6. the quarrel between the Syrians and Jews in no-wise abated, Felix sent nobles, chosen on either side, to Nero, that they might argue the rights of the question before him.

Moreover, he sent certain priests for some Jos. Life, § 3. trivial crime prisoners to Rome.

But then Festus was appointed successor to Felix.

After two years, from the time of Paul's accusation, Porcius Festus came in Felix' room, and Felix, willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound. Acts xxiv. 27.

After the departure of Felix, the chief men Jos. Ant. xx.
8, 9. of the Jews went to Rome to accuse him; and he would certainly have suffered punishment but that Nero forgave him at the intercession of

A. D. LX.

Pallas, whom he held at that time in great estimation.

Hence learned men conclude that Felix was accused at Rome nearly at the beginning of Nero's reign; inasmuch as he was forgiven at the intercession of Pallas, and Pallas was in favour but a short time after Nero's accession: Therefore, they contend, Festus succeeded Felix either in the second, third, or fourth year of Nero's reign. But it seems to me that the reverse of this opinion is rather to be inferred from this fact; I should conclude that Nero was not favourably disposed towards Pallas till some time after the beginning of his reign. For at the very outset of Nero's reign Pallas excited his disgust. In the beginning of the second year, he was removed from the charge of affairs, in the beginning of the third, he was impeached for treason, and though proved innocent his acquittal was far from acceptable. In the fourth year of his reign, Nero is seized with his passion for Poppæa; Agrippina is treated with indignity on the ground that she had abandoned herself to the desire of Pallas. In the fifth Agrippina herself is put to death, and thus the sole cause of Nero's dislike to Pallas, when he had been stripped of power, was removed. After the murder of Agrippina there is no record of any offence

Tac. Ann.
xiii. 2.
Tac. Ann.
xiii. 14.

Tac. Ann.
xiii. 23.

Tac. Ann.
xiii. 45.

Tac. Ann.
xiv. 8.

given on the part of Pallas to Nero. At length A.D. LX. in the ninth year of the reign, although accused of no crime and of no new offence to Nero (for Tac. Ann. XIV. 65. not Pallas but Doryphorus opposed the marriage of Poppæa), he is removed by poison; this was done at the instigation of Tigellinus, and only because by a protracted old age he kept in his possession enormous wealth. A similar charge Tac. Ann. XIV. 65. was shortly before brought against Seneca; that he was still accumulating vast wealth, and such as exceeded the share of a private person. Why then at the end of the sixth year of Nero might not Pallas have enjoyed his favour so far as to be able to deliver his own brother, whom Nero himself had made procurator, from the accusation of a few Jews?

When Festus was come into the province, Acts xxv. 1, &c. after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, where the Jews accuse Paul. Festus promises to hear them when he shall have returned to Cæsarea; after ten days Paul, being summoned on the eleventh by Festus, appeals to Cæsar. And after certain days Agrippa came to Acts xxv. 13. Cæsarea: and when he had been there many days Paul was brought out before him, and would then have been set at liberty if he had not Acts xxvi. 32. appealed unto Cæsar.

S. Paul is afterwards sent to Rome, and in NER. 7. the course of several days was cast on the island

A.D. LXL.
Acts xxviii.
11. **Melita.** When he had been for three months wintering at Melita, he came in the month of February, in the seventh year of Nero, by Syracuse, Rhegium, and Puteoli, to Rome.

Tac. xiv. 51.
Plin. Ep. ad
Traj. 65.
Acts xxviii.
16. When they came to Rome the rest of the prisoners were delivered by the centurion to the 'captain of the guard,' or prætorian prefect, at that time the only one, which was Burrhus. Burrhus died in the following year, and two prefects were appointed in the prætorium. Prisoners from the provinces were usually sent to the prætorian-prefects: Paul however was permitted to dwell by himself with the soldier that kept him.

Jos. Ant. xx.
8. 10. A certain impostor had promised safety to all the assassins who infested Judæa and more especially Jerusalem, that would follow him into the desert; but Festus put them all down by military force. In the meanwhile Agrippa builds a very spacious dwelling in the palace near the porch, whence he could overlook all that was done in and around the temple. On this account the chief men of Jerusalem raised a high wall, which not only took away the prospect from the royal apartment, but also from the western porch, where the Romans were stationed on feast-days. Agrippa was annoyed at this, and still more Festus, who ordered the Jews to take down the wall. But the Jews demanded of Festus that

Jos. Ant. xx.
8. 11.

an embassy should be sent to Nero upon the subject. A.D. LXXI.

In the beginning of this year ten leading men with the high priest Ismael, and Chelcias the warden of the treasury, were sent as ambassadors to the emperor. Meanwhile Nero in the eighth year of his reign puts away Octavia, and marries Poppæa on the twelfth day after Octavia's divorce. A.D. LXXII. Ner. 8. Tac. xiv. 60. Suet. Ner. 35.

The Jewish ambassadors come to Rome, and Nero, to gratify his new wife, gives leave for the wall to stand. Poppæa permitted the ten nobles to go back, but retained Ismael and Chelcias as hostages. As soon as Agrippa was informed of this he made Joseph Cabi high priest in the room of Ismael. Jos. Ant. xx. 8. 11.

Festus dies in his province in the month¹ of April; Agrippa makes Ananus high priest in the room of Joseph. Jos. Ant. xx. 9. 1.

Albinus was appointed by Nero successor to Festus. Meantime Ananus summons a council of judges, and delivers up James, the brother of Jesus Christ, with certain others, on the charge of impiety, to be stoned. Comp. Euseb. Ecc. Hist. ii. 23.

In the place of Ananus Agrippa substitutes Jesus son of Damnæus. Jos. Ant. xx. 9. 1.

¹ James, according to Hegesippus (Euseb. Ecc. Hist. ii. 23), was stoned and beaten to death at the passover, which must have followed very soon after the death of Festus.

A.D. LXXII.
Jos. Ant. xx.
9. 2.

Then, three months after the death of Festus (during which time Ananus was discharging the office of high priest), in the beginning of August, Albinus comes to Jerusalem, and immediately applied himself to settling the province, putting

Jos. Ant. xx.
9. 3.

many of the assassins to death. Albinus was present at the Feast of Tabernacles, when the assassins took the scribe Eleazar alive; and at the same festival one Jesus, son of Ananus, four years before the war broke out, came and exclaimed 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!'

Jos. Jew.
War, vi. 5. 3.

Phil. i. 13.
NER. 9.

Jos. Jew.
War, vi. 5. 3.

At this time S. Paul's bonds were manifest in all the palace, and some of Cæsar's household became Christians. Jesus, son of Ananus, is brought to Albinus and lashed till his flesh was torn to the bone, at each stroke calling out the same thing; and he continued to cry out thus for seven years and five months, until in the siege a stone thrown from a slinging machine despatched him.

Phil. ii. 24.
Eph. vi. 19,
21.
Col. iv. 3, 4.
Philem. 22.

Paul, who could now see that he was shortly going to be set at liberty, wrote the four epistles:

A.D. LXXIII.
NER. 9.
Acts xxviii.
30.

To the Philippians; to the Ephesians; to the Colossians; and to Philemon; in which last he writes that he is coming shortly, and begs to have a lodging prepared for him. And, when he had now for two years preached the word of God in a hired house, he left Rome, and retired

to the country properly called Italy; where, while waiting for Timothy, he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews.

A.D. LXIII.
Heb. xiii. 23,
24.

When Timothy arrived he set out from Italy for Spain, whither he had said in the Epistle to the Romans that he would go; and doubtless saw that region which Clement of Rome, alluding to Paul's journeys, calls 'the limit of the West.' Chrysostom says, 'and neither did he stop there, but went thence to Spain.' Theodoret also, 'And the history of the Acts teaches us that he first passed two years by himself in Rome in his own hired lodging; and departing thence for Spain, after he had carried the Gospel to the Spaniards, he returned and was then beheaded.'

NRB. 10.
Rom. xv. 24.
Clem. Rom.
1. 6.
Chryst. Orat.
7 on Paul.
Theodor. on
Phil. 1. 25.

The procurator Albinus harasses the province with every kind of rapacity.

Jew. War, II.
14. 1.

Paul sails to Crete.

Tit. 1. 5.
A.D. LXIV.
NERB. 10.

After Paul had been preaching some time in Crete, and established churches there, he ordained Titus bishop of the district, and left him further to arrange and set in order what he had himself omitted; and to ordain presbyters throughout the cities, according to the Apostle's appointment.

Euseb. Ecc.
Hist. III. 4.
Theodor. on
1 Tim. iii. 1.
Tit. 1. 5.

Paul sails with Timothy from Crete for Judæa.

Heb. xiii. 22.

In this year began the dreadful persecution of Christians at Rome.

Euseb. Ecc.
Hist. II. 25.
Tac. Ann.
xv. 44.

Nero appoints Florus as successor to Albinus.

Jos. Jew.
War, II. 14. 2.

A.D. LXIV.
Jos. Life, § 3.

Josephus, after the 26th year of his age, sails to Rome, that he may procure the deliverance of certain priests that were his friends, whom Felix had sent thither in bonds. But Felix had sent them in the beginning of the year LX. Josephus was then in his 23rd year, and the friendship between himself and those priests had been interrupted for almost four years: hence the time during which Felix remained procurator is very well corroborated. For if, as some will have it, these priests were sent by Felix at the beginning of Nero's reign, they could not be called friends

Jos. Life, § 1.

of Josephus; for he had then scarcely completed his eighteenth year, and was living in the wilderness with one Banus, with whom he passed three years beginning from his sixteenth year.

Jos. Life, § 2.

1 Tim. i. 3.
2 Tim. i. 18.
Euseb. Ecc.
Hist. III. 4.

Col. ii. 1.

Paul comes from Judæa to Asia: Timothy comes there also, to Ephesus. But Paul visits the Colossians, whom he had never before seen; and with whom he had resolved to stay, as appears from the Epistle privately addressed to Philemon, with the beloved Apphia, and Archippus his fellow-soldier, in which he writes thus: *Prepare me also a lodging; for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.*

Philem. 22.
Comp. Col. iv.
17.

NER. 11.
Jos. Ant. xx.
11. 2, and
Jew. War. II.
14. 4.
1 Tim. i. 3.

Florus comes to the province, in the second year of whose procuratorship the war began.

Paul, just about to start for Macedonia, now directs Timothy to abide at Ephesus. For though

he had three times before left for Macedonia, yet on none of those occasions had he given that direction to Timothy; not on the first, for then he took Timothy with him; not on the second, for he had then sent Timothy onward into Macedonia before starting himself; neither on the third, for he had him then as a companion on the journey.

A.D. LXIV.

Acts xvi. 3.

Acts xix. 22.

Acts xx. 3.
Comp. Col. 1
1. and Phil.
1. 1.

Just before leaving Asia he excommunicates Hymenæus and Philetus (*Alexander*?).

1 Tim. i. 20.
2 Tim. ii. 17.

Josephus by the aid of Poppæa gets the priests set at liberty.

Jos. Life, § 3.

Paul having gone to Macedonia, stays with the Philippians.

A.D. LXV.
NEB. 11.
Phil. i. 25, 26.
Phil. ii. 24.

Josephus, after partaking largely of Poppæa's bounty, returns to Judæa, where he observes that affairs under Florus all tend to war.

Jos. Life, § 3.

Paul writes the first Epistle to Timothy¹.

Paul writes to Titus, having Artemas and Tychicus with him. Chrysostom writes in his preface to this Epistle; 'The times seem to me to have been free from violence, and Paul in security, when he wrote this, as he says nothing

Tit. iii. 12.
Comp. 2 Tim.
iv. 12.
Chrys. on Ep.
Tit.
Hom. I.

¹ The argument which fixes the date of this Epistle is contained in the text just above, where Pearson comments on 1 Tim. i. 3. Lightfoot (Chron. Temp. Acts xx. 3) places the date ten years earlier, at which time it is scarcely probable Timothy would have been in so responsible a situation. The chief arguments on Lightfoot's side are discussed and answered in Whitby's Preface to 1 Tim.

A.D. LXV.
Theoph. Arg.
Ep. Tit. about trials.' Theophylact also observes this security, and argues from it that this Epistle was written before that (the second) to Timothy.

NER. 12.
Tit. iii. 12. Paul winters at Nicopolis¹ in Epirus, not in Macedonia, as the 'subscription' represents; nor in Thrace, as Chrysostom and Theodoret state, which Dounæus rightly noted; though Hen. Savile rejects the remark, and with less reason adheres to Chrysostom and Theodoret, 'inasmuch as they speak of a matter within their own knowledge, and a city in their own neighbourhood.' But Chrysostom delivered those homilies at Antioch, which is a long distance from Thrace, and not at Constantinople, as Hales justly observed.

Chrys. Ed.
Sav. Vol. VIII.
p. 544.

A.D. LXVI.
2 Tim. iv. 20. Paul goes from Nicopolis to Corinth; and when he departed from Corinth he left Erastus²

¹ Compare Paley's *Hor. Paul.* xiii. 2.

² Paul does not say that he left Erastus at Corinth, as he says he *left* Trophimus at Miletus; and it cannot be concluded that Paul passed through Corinth at all. Assuredly to have gone to Corinth from Nicopolis in Epirus would have been out of his course to Rome. I can see no sufficient reason why we should suppose Paul to have retraced his way to Asia; if when at Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick, he had sent Timothy to Ephesus (for there is no indication beyond 2 Tim. i. 18 of the Apostle's having now visited Ephesus), and from thence gone by Troas to Macedonia (whence Erastus may have left him for Corinth), and then gone on into Epirus before the winter, all would have been in the direct course for Rome. It may however be objected, that Timothy, being at Ephesus, must have heard of Trophi-

there; for he thus informs Timothy, *Erastus abode at Corinth*. This intelligence could not be written to Timothy during the first imprisonment; for to what end should he inform Timothy that Erastus remained at Corinth, if he were himself Paul's companion at the very time that Erastus must be supposed to have remained at Corinth?

A.D. LXVI.

Acts xx. 4.

The war begun in Judæa, in the month of May, in the 12th year of Nero, and 2nd of Florus.

Jos. Jew.
War, II. 14. 4.

Nero sets out for Achaia.

Dio. LXXIII.
Suet. Ner.
NER. 13.
Jos. Jew.
War, II. 19.
8, 9.

The army of Cestius is routed in Judæa.

Paul comes to Troas, where he left his cloak, books and parchments, with Carpus, who is not elsewhere mentioned; but it is foolish even to imagine that Paul could have left these things at Troas at a former time, when he had so many companions with him, and a collection to be carried to Jerusalem, and a ship whenever it was necessary.

2 Tim. iv. 13.

Paul comes to Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick, as he informs Timothy; which cannot be if he were meanwhile lying sick at Miletus; and that 2 Tim. iv. 13 implies that Paul had but lately been at Troas: yet these objections seem hardly of the same weight as that which might be urged against a retrograde journey, of which we have such very faint traces.

2 Tim. iv. 20.

I may remark by the way, that when Paul, after having urged Titus to come to him at Nicopolis, tells Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 10) that Titus was gone to Dalmatia, we see an indication that the Nicopolis at which Paul wintered was in Epirus.

A.D. LXXVI. refer to the time of his being at Miletus before he was sent to Rome, for Trophimus came then with Paul to Jerusalem.

A.D. LXXVII. Paul, when the persecution at Rome had now ceased for more than two years, and Nero was in Greece, comes to Rome; but at Rome he finds a second Nero.

Phil. i. 13. And since his former bonds were well known in the palace before the first persecution, and he was therefore better known than other Christians, he is put into prison, and kept in close custody, not, as before, in an hired house which every one knew; on which account Onesiphorus did not find him *until he had sought him out very diligently*

At Rome, Paul is summoned from prison by Nero's substitute to be tried for his life, and is put upon his *answer* or defence, which was not done in the former imprisonment, where he only maintained *the defence and confirmation of the Gospel*, to wit, against the Jews.

In this defence the danger of Paul and his companions was so great, that the latter all forsook him, and no one stood with him, but he was delivered out of the mouth of the *lion*, viz. of Helius Cæsareanus, to whom Nero, when he went to Greece, gave up as subjects every person in the city and in Italy; with power, without consulting him, to confiscate their goods, to send

them into exile, even to put them to death, whether they were plebeians, knights, or senators: A.D. LXVII.
 'Thus then the Roman empire was at the same time subject to two autocrats, Nero and Helius,' Dio. LXIII. 12.
 as Dio observes.

At that time *Alexander the coppersmith did him much evil, and greatly withstood his words.* 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.

After this defence S. Paul writes the second Epistle to Timothy, being certainly both at Rome (Ep. i. 17), and in bonds (Ep. i. 8, and ii. 9): these were his later bonds, for during the former Timothy was himself with Paul at Rome; and together with him had written Epistles, in which the Apostle intimated that he should soon be set at liberty; but in this Epistle he tells Timothy that *he is ready to be offered, and the time of his departure is at hand; and the Lord shall deliver me*, he says, not from bonds, but *from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom.* Phil. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 2 Tim. iv. 6, 18.

Helius hastens to Greece, that he may bring Nero back to Italy, and, arriving there on the seventh day, frightened the emperor by discovering to him an important conspiracy in the city. NER. 14. Dio. LXIII. 19.

Nero accordingly, leaving Greece in the middle of winter, comes to Italy, as it seems, in the month of January. A.D. LXVIII.

Nero remains in Italy, and does not at once come to Rome.

A.D. LXVIII.
Suet. Ner.
XL.

At Neapolis in Campania, about March 21, 'on the very day on which he had put his mother to death,' he heard of the disturbance in the Gauls, which began a few days after the Calends of March; 'and so leisurely and carelessly did he take it, that for an entire week he neither replied to any person in writing, nor gave any orders or directions;' then 'as one messenger came on after another, he became very anxious and returned to Rome,' in the beginning of April; 'and believing that an expedition was necessary, he deprived both the consuls of their office before the due time, and in their place took on himself alone the duty of the consulship.'

Suet. Ner.
XLI.

Suet. Ner.
XLIII.

Clem. Rom.
I. Ep. 5.

S. Paul (with S. Peter) suffers martyrdom¹ in the last year of Nero. But this occurred under

¹ We are so apt to connect success in the affairs of this world with merit, that a feeling of disappointment almost unavoidably comes upon us as we close this account of S. Paul's labours. *The wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he.* With the earnest Christian, however, and much more with the devoted missionary, this result must excite neither surprise nor fear; he must accustom himself, assisted it may be by like trials, to look upon death as Paul looked on it when he wrote the second time to Timothy; and he will be sustained by the same reflexion:

I ENDURE ALL THINGS FOR THE ELECT'S SAKE, THAT THEY MAY ALSO OBTAIN THE SALVATION WHICH IS IN CHRIST JESUS WITH ETERNAL GLORY.

IT IS A FAITHFUL SAYING: FOR IF WE BE DEAD WITH HIM, WE SHALL ALSO LIVE WITH HIM:

IF WE SUFFER, WE SHALL ALSO REIGN WITH HIM; IF WE DENY HIM, HE WILL ALSO DENY US.—2 Tim. ii. 10, 11, 12.

the prefects¹ in the city, and so in the absence of Nero, as Clement of Rome testifies, on Feb. 22. A.D. LXVIII.

For the month and day our authority is Silvius, in whose calendar appears,

‘8th of the Calends of March². S. Peter and S. Paul lay down their lives.’

Nero kills himself on June 9³.

Suet. Ner.
XLIX.

¹ ἐν τῶν ἡγουμένων. Clem. Sub Præfectis. Pears.

² According to modern Calendars the Apostles laid down their lives on June 29; but on Feb. 22, the Roman Church celebrates ‘S. Peter’s See at Antioch.’ The Calendar of Silvius, written A.D. 448, was edited by Jo. Baptista Sollerius, and printed in Vol. III. p. 157—164, of Præfationes, &c. to Bolland’s Acta Sanctorum, from a MS. that had been in Bolland’s possession, and which he had intended to print; see Præf. Gen. in Act. Sanct. c. IV. §. 3. The entire statement of this Calendar, as there printed, is

VIII. Kal. Mart. Depositio Sancti Petri et Pauli. Cara cognatio, ideo dicta, quia tunc, etsi fuerint vivorum parentum (Boll. parentum) odia, tempore obitus deponantur. Ventus aut tempestas.

³ So Xiphilinus and Scaliger: Riccioli says June 10: Tillemont, June 11.

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